INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

642 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathiri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have 178
stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old
order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern 185
conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth [369
to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves
with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement 182]
to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who 185
prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathiri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increas- 185
ingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and 177
otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to
the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular 648
and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres.
The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good-
will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this [167]
the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant
an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion 178
of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions 185
of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut 182
appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathiri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of
Qu'aiti and Kathiri rule in their respective countries. I could 000
not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

During our visit the maximum and minimum temperatures 132
recorded during stays in the principal towns were as follows :—

	Dates inclusive.	*Maximum.*	*Minimum.*
Mukalla	31st October to 5th November ...	86·8	75
	21st to 30th December	82	74·5
Shihr ...	20th to 21st December	80·2	73·3
Du'an ...	11th to 13th November	78·8	70·3
Shibam ...	17th to 20th November	84·2	66·8
	21st to 24th November	75·1	62·3
Tarim ...	21st November	75·9	72·9
	2nd to 5th December	88·5	70·3

The lowest temperature we recorded on the whole trip was 37·3 at 6.45 a.m. on 29th November at Sih Rieidat al Kathir. The highest was 88·5 at 4 p.m. on 5th December at Tarim.

The States of the Hadhramaut.

In Article I of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement of 1918 it is stated 642
that the Qu'aiti Sultan and the Kathiri Sultan "recognize that 648
the province of Hadhramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla." This agreement appears *in extenso* in Appendix II. By it the Kathiri agreed to accept as binding on him the treaty of 1888 between the Qu'aiti and the British Government, which extended British Protection to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies, and also accepted the arbitration of the British Government in the settlement of future disputes.

The Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla is one of the most 642
important of the Sultanates and Chiefdoms forming the Aden Pro- 631
tectorate. The Sultan receives a nominal stipend of Rs.60 a month
from British funds and is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. 643
The present Sultan, His Highness Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. He is recognized as being the ruler of the whole country, but that part of it defined as being Kathiri is autonomous in its domestic affairs and is ruled over by Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur. By virtue of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement, negotiations with the Kathiri Sultanate are conducted through the medium of the Qu'aiti Sultan.

It is necessary, however, to avoid the impression that all the 642
country included in the term Hadhramaut is ruled by Qu'aiti or 631
Kathiri in the same way as obtains in more advanced countries,
for such is far from being the case. In both Sultanates there are 641
a number of towns or districts where the Government is absolute, and the central Government appoints Governors who take full responsibility for the affairs of those places. In some cases there are stretches of country including series of villages which are ruled in the same way, but every now and then will be found autonomous towns and villages. These belong to particular tribes or particular families, and the Qu'aiti or Kathiri Governments have no

175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

648 643 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi, [554] of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

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[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathīri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathīri succeeded in occupying Shihr.. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathīris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathīris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Āl 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathīris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for investing Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathīris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Āl 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Gheil and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathīri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Āl Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Gheil and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Āl 'Abdulla, but the Kathīris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Āl 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Yafa'i chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

Sultan 'Awadh died in 1909 and was succeeded by his son Ghalib, a man of advanced views, who was extremely anxious for the development of his country in which he established peace and good order. His application for, and financing of, a mission to investigate agricultural and mineral resources of his country deserves special mention. He approached the High Commissioner for Egypt, and in 1919 Mr. O. H. Little was sent to report on the mineral resources and Mr. H. M. Heald on the agriculture. Mr. Little's report appeared in 1925, "The Geography and Geology of Mukalla," and the results of the agricultural survey appear in Mr. Heald's official report. 643 654

Sultan Ghalib died, universally regretted, in 1922, and was succeeded by his brother 'Umar, whose achievements will sufficiently appear elsewhere in this report. The present Sultan, whose accession to the Mukalla state was determined by the will of Sultan Ghalib, succeeded his uncle in March 1936. 643

The late Qu'aiti Sultan was absent from the country during my visit, and in fact the greater part of his reign was spent in India. Just prior to my visit, however, he had performed a tour of the Hadhramaut, and this was the first occasion on which a reigning Sultan had undertaken the journey. Leaving Mukalla on 29th July, His Highness, who was accompanied by his *Wazir*, other officials 200 soldiers and a brass band, arrived at Wadi Du'an on 4th August. He stayed in Du'an six days and left for Hajarein on the 10th August. The party reached Hajarein on the evening of the 11th, and next day left by car for Meshhed. On the 14th, Hureidha was reached and Haura the same evening. On the 15th, His Highness proceeded to Al Qatn where he spent two days, and left on the 17th for Shibam where he stayed seven days, during which the Kathiri Sultan visited him with a large retinue and invited him to the Kathiri part of the wadi. Sultan 'Umar arrived at Seiyun on the 24th and was well received. He proceeded next day to Tarim, and on the 26th visited 'Einat, returning to Tarim the same day. On the 27th he returned to Shibam, where he stayed a further week before going to Al Qatn on 3rd September. On his way back to Mukalla, which he reached on the 14th, Sultan 'Umar visited 643 484 [644]

The Naqib succeeded in procrastinating until his troops returned from Du'an, when war ensued and the Qu'aitis were defeated. This war was known as the Nusfa or struggle for half the share. 648 643

The Qu'aiti then had resort to the British Government who ordered the Naqib to pay the amount claimed. On his failure he was removed from Mukalla, and thus in al Hijja 1299 (A.D. 1882) Mukalla and its dependencies came into the possession of 'Abdulla and 'Awadh bin 'Umar.

In Muharram 1307 (1888) the Qu'aiti entered into a treaty with the British, and was recognized as Sultan of Mukalla and its dependencies. When 'Abdulla died, there was a dispute between 'Awadh and the sons of 'Abdulla as to the paramountcy. The British Government intervened and ordered the removal of 'Abdulla's sons in consideration of compensation to be paid. Then Sultan 'Awadh and his descendants became the rulers of the whole country.

643 "If the representative disobeys the ruler, or shows any opposition, or does not maintain justice and oppresses the people, or gives no account of his administration, the ruler may dismiss him and appoint another in his place. If the ruler wishes to give him another appointment and does not desire that he should act as a representative he may be discharged and another appointed in his stead. The ruler is at liberty to appoint or dismiss whom he likes from the cities.

"The ruler must provide his successors, their sons and relatives, with an adequate allowance of food, clothing, riding animals, etc., and he must provide a settled allowance of food, clothing, etc., on the sons of the sons of his brother 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, and on his descendants from generation to generation; also on the sons of the sons of Ghalib and descendants from generation to generation. He must also provide for those living in the ports of Shihr and Mukalla and their dependencies, or in the Hadhramaut, Shibam, and Haura, and for their descendants from generation to generation, and consider them as his sons.

"Every ruler who reigns over the ports of Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, as well as Shibam, Hadhramaut, etc., should provide such an allowance as is possible to all those related to our late father, 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and the sons of their sons who reside at Shihr or Mukalla and their dependencies, Hadhramaut, or Shibam, provided they are under his command, and obey, comply, and submit to him and are his supporters and assistants.

"If the ruler becomes insane, or be a minor his successor should act on his behalf until his recovery or until he is of age. This is all that should be followed."

[643] It does not appear that British approval was given to this will,1/ nor indeed is it clear that it was required, though the Government had apparently already intervened in questions of the succession. It will be seen that the will in effect laid down a constitution for the Qu'aiti state, though it is not in practice being followed at the present day, and that the ordinary methods of election of a Sultan do not apply.

643
171 'Umar bin 'Awadh could never have founded the present Qu'aiti dynasty if he had remained in the Hadhramaut. The fortunes of that dynasty were laid in India, and ever since 'Umar took service under the Nizam of Hyderabad and made his name and fortune in that service, the connection with Hyderabad has been maintained. His descendants are hereditary Jemadars in the Nizam's forces, but the connection with India became more than one of service in a foreign army for several members of the family married Indian ladies, so that there is now much Indian blood in the family. Apart from the fact that they consider their Hadhramaut possessions as a private estate, they have other private estates which in his will

1/ [i.e., of 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti, founder of the Qu'aiti dynasty; see pp. 80-82, category 643 -- Analyst]

578 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory
182 state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathiris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathiris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathiris.

185 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that
661 the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the
648 interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathiri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathiri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathiris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the
690 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end. 000

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis. 578 648

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. *There were also complaints of insecurity* and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :— [643] 664 185

> " The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918).* There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 -- Analyst]

1; Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

APPENDIX II.

Hadhramaut Treaties.

Protectorate Treaty with Jeamadar 'Abdulla bin Umar and 'Awadth bin 'Umar,—1888. 618

Article 1.

"The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti on behalf of himself and his brother 'Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, hereby undertakes to extend to Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction, the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

Article 2.

"The said 'Abdalla bin 'Umar bin 'Awadth al-Ka'yti agrees and promises, on behalf of himself and his brother 'Awadth bin 'Umar al-Ka'yti, and their heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement, or treaty with any foreign nation or Power, except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; and further promises to give immediate notice to the Resident at Aden, or other British Officer, of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with Mokalla and Shihr and their dependencies.

Article 3.

"The above Treaty shall have effect from this date. In witness whereof the undersigned have affixed their signatures or seals at Shihr this first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight.

Qu'aiti-Kathiri Agreement, 1918.

648

"I. The Qaiti Sultan, lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah al Kathiri recognise that the province of Hadramaut shall be one province, the said province being an appanage of the British Empire under the Sultan of Al Shahr and Mukalla. 631

II. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla acknowledges that the Sultans of the family of Abdallah are Sultans of Al Shanafir, but the family of Abdallah rule within Hadramaut over the towns and villages of Siwun, Terim, Teris, Al Gharaf, Mariana and Al Gheil. It is acknowledged that the sub-tribes of Shanafir mentioned as follows shall be under the Sultan of the family of Abdallah: namely the tribes of Omar and Aamir; the sub-tribes of Al Kathiri, Al Awamir, Bag-iri and Gabiri and all that is within their boundaries, as is well known and recognised.

III. The Qaiti Sultan lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla contracts on his own behalf and of his heirs and successors on the one hand, that he acknowledges and recognises the rights and suzerainty of the Sultans of the family of Abdallah and their heirs and successors over the said towns and villages as well as the sub-tribe of Shanafir aforenamed in Article II above; and also that he will not interfere with it in any matter whatsoever, and that he recognises them as Sultans absolute in their own country as defined in Article II.

IV. The Sultans of the Abdallah family admit on their own behalf and that of their heirs and successors on the other hand, that they will not interfere in any way soever with the Government of Hadramaut, with the exception of the towns and villages aforenamed in Article II and likewise the sub-tribe named in the said Article; and agree that they have no power to interfere in any other places.

V. The Abdallah Sultans acknowledge and recognise that the treaty signed between the British Government and the Qaiti Government in 1888 is binding upon them, just as if they had themselves made it, and they agree to conform to its conditions faithfully. They further recognise that all their negotiations and correspondence with the British Government shall be carried on through the Qaiti Sultan Lord of Al Shahr and Al Mukalla.

VI. Both parties agree to suppress disorders both now and in future, immediately; they agree to forgive and forget all that has passed and to renounce severally all vendetta or claims for compensation; they agree to preserve in future security on the roads existing within their well-known frontiers, to enforce justice according to the Sheria and respect for the higher authority, to succour the oppressed and to maintain the common law within the stated boundary.

VII. The aforesaid agree to give each other mutual assistance in case of any transgression committed by either of the two parties against their subjects or friends or any person connected with them, or against a sherif, a wayfarer or any defenceless person. They agree mutually to defend life and property, as well as their followers and subjects and any who seek their hospitality, as long as the boundaries named shall endure; they further agree to treat them with the same justice and equity that they show towards their friends.

VIII. The aforesaid agree that absolute commercial freedom shall prevail, and that tithes shall be collected to the amount fixed from all persons impartially who are subjects of the aforenamed Sultans.

IX. If either of the aforenamed Sultans desires to visit the other he must give notice of his intention, so that fitting preparations may be made to receive him; and in no case soever must the number of the soldiers exceed 50, so as to avoid the occurrence of brawls between soldiers.

X. The Qaiti Sultans and those of the Kathiri family alike agree to give mutual assistance in so far as in them lies in any organisation which is directed to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the Hadramaut.

XI. In order to promote the acceptance of the aforesaid conditions between the Sultan of Shahr and Mukalla and the Sultans of the family of Abdallah of the Kathiri family, the British Government shall endeavour to settle all differences arising in future between the aforesaid, from the date of the signature of this treaty through the intermediary of the Governor of Aden."

There were engagements in 1863 and 1873 with the Naqib of Mukalla and the Jemadar of Shihr for the abolition of the Slave Trade in their dominions. In 1882 there was an agreement with the Qu'aitis by which they undertook not to dispose of their territories except to the British, to provide for the ex-Kasadi Naqib, and to abide by British advice in their dealings with neighbouring chiefs and foreign powers. The agreement also provides for the payment of a stipend of 360 dollars to the Qu'aiti providing the stipulations of the agreement are fulfilled.

These agreements and one or two others of historic interest will be found in Aitchison's Treaties.

631

PACT CONCLUDED BETWEEN ĀL'ABDULLA AND ALL NAHD AND BENI SHABIB.

Praise be to God.

"On the 10th of Moharram 1264 (A.D. 1848), Sultan 'Abud bin Salim bin Muhammad bin Ahmed al Kathiri and All Nehd and Beni Shabib came to an agreement.

Sultan 'Abud acted as Representative of Sultan 'Abdulla bin Nuhsin bin Ahmed and all the Sultans of Āl 'Abdulla bin 'Umar.

Each representative of the Nahd on behalf of his section and those submissive and obedient to it, has given an undertaking to follow and respond to the call of the Sultan whenever received and go against anyone whomsoever he may be and wherever he may be, They are prepared to respond to the call of the Sultan in whatever may be of interest to him. In accordance with tribal usages they will have to carry it out while every thing which would be harmful to him they will have to abandon. All the above has been undertaken and whoever contradicts the above will be considered to have committed a breach of the undertaking.

The Sultan has also given an undertaking to those who have given undertakings to him to treat them with all becoming respect as herein stated. All customary gifts which the Nahd were in the habit of receiving from the Sultan and his predecessors shall be given to those mentioned in this document. Every friend of the Sultan is their friend and his foe is also their foe. They will comply with the Commandments of God.

The Representatives of the Nahd and Beni Shabib sections ([illegible] signatures)."

and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without 721
quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a
period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be 114
appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to 185
build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in
both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building 121
up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order
to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti 631
State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest
revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other
areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete
that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five 131
liwas each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the 631
capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the 161
largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital
was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why 361
the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness 643
Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

STATUS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty 648
of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

648 treaty and the force of circumstances the Sultan was already bound to follow the protecting Power. It ended up by saying that if there were serious disagreement between the Sultan and the adviser it would be open to the Sultan to appeal to the Governor of Aden and if necessary to the Secretary of State.

This new departure of giving an adviser to a ruler in Arabia was not really a great innovation. Lawrence describes the policy agreed on for Arabia after the last war as putting a "ring-wall around Arabia, a country which must be reserved as an area of Arabian individualism. So long as our fleet keeps its coasts, Arabia should be at leisure to fight out its own complex and fatal destiny."[1] The old treaty of protection represented just such a policy as Lawrence described. There was at that time, of course, no question of providing advisers in Arabia itself, but in *A Report on the Reconstruction of Arabia*, also by Lawrence, he wrote that any advisers chosen by Feisal "will be part of the Arab Government and will draw their executive authority from it and not from their own Government."[2]

In my case there was some discussion as to who should pay for the adviser, but as a gesture to a country which had at that time no money the British Government decided to pay. But I think it will be clear from the treaty and the Note accompanying it that it was intended that the adviser should work things out with the local government himself and that he should not be a mouthpiece to convey instructions from His Majesty's Government to the local ruler as to what was to be done. So that what was done is in harmony with what Lawrence wrote and that has been the way in which I have tried to work.

There is one other instrument to which I must refer and that is the Protectorate Order-in-Council of 1937. It was thought by some at the time that this Order-in-Council amounted to an annexation of the Protectorate, but the then Prime Minister in an answer in the House of Commons on June 1, 1938, denying that the Order-in-Council provided for an annexation of territory, said that when Aden became a colony, jurisdiction in the adjacent areas, hitherto exercised under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council, had to be provided by a new Order-in-Council and that this was a normal administrative change. It did not therefore portend our administering the Protectorate or destroying the autonomy and responsibility of the chiefs.

COMPARISON OF STATE GOVERNMENT IN HADHRAMAUT IN 1934-6 AND 1944

647 In 1934 the Sultan's staff in Mukalla consisted of a Wazir, a treasurer, a commander of the forces, a doctor, and a few school-masters. In 1944 there was a State Council of senior officials and nominated unofficials, and the administration was carried on in twenty organized departments under

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113 [1] Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Cape, 1927), p. 306, also *T. E. Lawrence by his friends* edited by A. W. Lawrence (London, Cape, 1937), p. 198.

[2] David Garnett (ed.), *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Cape, 1938), p. [illegible].

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619 He is no longer apt to be shot at by Government soldiers and he brings his
troubles to the Government. The provincial governors and the district
647 heads are better men and better paid than they used to be and all new
candidates have courses of instruction before appointment. There are
692 systems of State and tribal courts which are becoming more and more
619 effective. There is a special department of bedouin affairs which is staffed
entirely by Hadhrami tribesmen; five or six years ago no Hadhrami tribes-
men were employed in any positions of responsibility.

759 As regards social services, in 1934 there was one doctor, mainly for the
Sultan though he ran a public dispensary, and medical services cost Rs. 5,500
657 a year: in 1944 the sum voted was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary
652 services. There was an establishment of four doctors, and a State hospital
748 for fifty in-patients was being built in Mukalla.

In 1934 education cost Rs. 6,000 and about three hundred boys received
871 some sort of schooling. In 1944 Rs. 1,054,000 was provided. The number
of boys in primary Government schools on the coast has increased to about
652 seventeen hundred. There were between a hundred and thirty and a
657 hundred and forty girls in the new Mukalla girls' school, and an inter-
658 mediate boarding school, assisted by the British Council and a grant from
His Majesty's Government, had been started with about eighty boys. As
part of the famine relief measures, children were brought down from the
Hadhramaut and have now been taken over by the Qu'aiti State which
bought a village outside Mukalla and is now housing three hundred boys
[874] and girls in it. A wall enclosing garden land has been built round it and
the children work the garden and are apprenticed to various local trades.
They are given a modest schooling and it is hoped that they will also be
taught by means of a village council to run their own village.

658 Another State educational experiment owes its impetus mainly to the
enthusiasm of the young men of Mukalla. A number of young men have
871 gone through a course organized by the Education Department in how to
teach illiterate adults to read and write. These teachers compiled a
coolies' vocabulary of seven hundred words or so and when I left were about
to teach coolies from the Hadhramaut, who had come seeking for work at
the coast on account of the famine, how to write the language they speak,
a sort of basic Arabic. There are schemes for producing a small newspaper
in this simplified form of speech and for developing some public-health
consciousness.

701 What little the State could do towards the war effort it has done. It
provided a company for guard duties in Aden while the Italians were in
648 the war. It has raised a Pioneer Company for service in the Middle East
Command. It has guarded the R.A.F. aerodromes in the State and pro-
[712] vided coastal guards. The Public Works Department has built an R.A.F.
station at about a third of the cost expected. It has landed and handled a
great quantity of R.A.F. stores. In addition, at the outbreak of war when
the surplus balance was about Rs. 80,000, it contributed Rs. 20,000 for
648 general war purposes, and Hadhramis at home and abroad subscribed to a

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Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The 648
women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regu-
larly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: 185
and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems
too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss 731
of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven
years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of [231]
50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had
a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior
rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by
voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for
grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to
record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and
the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief,
both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary
cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government
servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a
fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided
at the coast for refugees from the interior.

NATURE OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti adminis- 131
tration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their
country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut
is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the
most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its
people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have
had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country 311
is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more
than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know 177
Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them.
They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them 291
aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist
cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of 181
the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred
in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to
anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the
horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the
people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the
towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has 621
grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of 565
classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert
bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of 566
descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute 771
submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where
the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, 181
among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is
that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old 648
secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the 185
exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers
and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete 619
self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 669
'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in
Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan 721
whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his 669
lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he
claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only 648
recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed
648 to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the
619 fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RESIDENCY AND METHODS USED

After persuading the tribes to make the general truce for three years, 647
I turned my attention to Government organization. I had hoped at first 648
that it would not be necessary to have more than three European assistants, two political and one military, but the burden of work became so heavy that by the beginning of the war I think there were eight European officers working in the Hadhramaut. Owing to the general anti-foreigner feeling, 609
I thought it better that these officers should belong to the Residency staff as assistants to the adviser and that they should not have executive authority, and I told them to regard themselves rather as men with oil cans, who saw that the machinery was working, than as part of the machinery itself. Furthermore I felt sure that the actual responsibility must remain in the hands of the local Government. I believed, and I am sure that events have proved me right, that if you give people responsibility and make them exercise it they are eventually able to do so fairly effectively. You begin by collecting a group of what are in effect pictures labelled as heads of departments and in due course they come, like Galatea, to life. This rather extensive employment of Europeans did not turn out very successfully and, in 1942, it was approved that I might reduce my European assistants to two and engage trained orientals to instruct the local Government staff in the conduct of bedouin affairs, district administration, finance, medical, educational, agricultural, military and police work. Not all these posts have yet been filled owing to the difficulty of finding qualified candidates but there are now Transjordanis holding the posts of Bedouin Affairs Assistant and Police Assistant, a Hadhrami seiyid who is a Major in the Hyderabad military forces and a Punjabi Mussulman as Military Assistants, and a Sudani as Educational Assistant.

The functions of the Residency are advice, instruction and inspection. 648
As regards instruction the Residency runs a military school which is 647
attended by officers and non-commissioned officers of all the forces, and promotion in the forces cannot be had without a certificate from it. It 871
runs courses for teachers, courses for administrative candidates for employment as district officers, and police courses. Other courses are obtained by sending candidates to Aden, for example for training as dispensers, and by sending boys for education to the Sudan.

Most Government departments were in their beginning practically directed by Residency staff. When they are able to stand sufficiently on their own feet, the Residency withdraws and leaves them entirely to their own heads and the State Secretary.

Some things, however, are paid for by His Majesty's Government and 648
are under Residency control. The most important of these is the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion. It is modelled as far as possible on Brigadier Glubb's Desert Patrol, which he kindly enabled me to see in 1938, and he generously provided Arab officers for it. The bedouins were quite unaccustomed to 701
any sort of military service and the force experienced ups and downs for 702

701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts
702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very
popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained
not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The
[743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital
which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and
serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agriculture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.
875 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate
an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools
758 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-
731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance
and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these
657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Government grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

871 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school.
A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants
759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and
teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their
[273] request, worn their clothes: as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhra-
maut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a foreigner or for a foreign Government.

As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-
609 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence
771 of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was
648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers
would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches.
I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them,
and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab
States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my
000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim
any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

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faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have 000 held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Hadhramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have 771 found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working 871 and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

Tentative Conclusions from Experience in the Hadhramaut

As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius 114 and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self-government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the 000 people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a [609] whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal affairs of Arabia, and the more we can give assistance, including financial assistance, without giving rise to fears of annexation or virtual annexation, the more popular we shall be.

Some time ago I was telling some of the principal people of Mukalla of 648 some assistance which His Majesty's Government was proposing to give. They were grateful for it, but there were doubts as to whether all this would lead to closer control and the subject turned to British colonization as they call it. Said one, "the English come to you and say, 'I would like to stay in your house and help you. I will be no bother to you, all I want

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648 is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

600 I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in
181 these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense
186 of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

181 Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

000 701 648 Glubb, said in order not to have to use it). In our area we owe a great deal to the R.A.F.; much of the improved security in the Hadhramaut is due to the presence of an R.A.F. station near Mukalla and to the new local forces. The R.A.F. have been particularly good in political work as opposed to punitive work. Not only have they shown the flag regularly, taken the sick to hospital, carried doctors about and, lately, provided a whole flight for the exclusive work of flying grain to famine areas, but in peace-time they have often made friendly social contacts and given and taken hospitality in a spirit which has made them very welcome visitors. I am sure that friendly social intercourse between garrisons abroad and the local population in peace-time, when there is time for it, goes a long way to reduce the possible need for armed intervention. I am not sure how far such contacts are officially encouraged but perhaps more could be done in that way.

My conclusions are:

000 (1) There is a type of backward territory in the Middle East in which for reasons of climate, soil, nature of population and politics, colonial administration in the usual sense of the word is inapplicable.

(2) That neither of the systems of colonial administration known as direct rule and indirect rule are suitable in such countries as these. Even in indirect rule the person who has the final authority and responsibility in a country is the Governor and under him his provincial and district commissioners. In Arab countries final responsibility must rest with the ruler and his Government, and the adviser must draw his authority from them. The responsibility of the Government supplying the adviser ends with providing the best officer available and withdrawing him if he is not suitable.

(3) That the best way of dealing with these territories is by a system of loose political control and/or advice which is neither direct nor indirect rule nor complete abstention.

(4) That you cannot expect people to act responsibly if you do not give them full responsibility. In countries that are as hard as the Hadhramaut and have as few economic resources, the only hope of salvation lies in the people being kept fit to look after themselves.

(5) That foreigners, working as advisers or political officers concerned with the internal affairs of countries which are suspicious of external interference and are independently minded, must work and live as part of the people and consider things from the point of view of the people. They can be sure that by serving the interests of those among whom they work in this way they are also best serving the interests of their own country. A political officer must be able to interpret the people among whom he is working to his own Government and also be able to interpret his own Government to the people. The first requirement is often the more difficult.

643
official members serving as consultative representatives of the 645
"popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who 647
exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town 631
Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public serv- 657
ices consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed 625
Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educa- 871
tional facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at 658
Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, 643
as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the 436
state's own postage stamps[5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national 186
flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, ap- 648
pears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

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[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

648 lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

439 That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri
167 State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya
171 is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and
commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

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162 TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

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State	Title of ruler	Population	Area in sq. miles	Annual revenue	Police	Salute
Qu'aiti (Mukalla) ..	H.H. the Sultan of	197,000	30,000	Rs 27,50,078	Unlisted	11 guns
Kathiri (Seiyun) ...	Sultan of	60,000	6,000	Rs 4,80,000	Unlisted	9 guns
Wahidi (Balhaf)	Sultan of	25,000	5,000	Rs 1,02,448	Unlisted	None
Mahri (Socotra & Qishn)	Sultan of	22,000	13,000	Unlisted	Unlisted	9 guns
Haura	Shaykh of	300	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
'Irqa	Shaykh of	350	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Abdali (Lahej)	H.H. the Sultan of	41,400	4,500	Unlisted	380	11 guns
Fadhli (Shuqra)	Sultan of	25,000	2,500	Rs 4,17,697	120	9 guns
Amiri (Dhala)	Amir of	27,000	1,050	Rs 1,50,000	75	9 guns
Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara)	Sultan of	23,000	700	Rs 1,65,000	30	9 guns
Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba)	Sultan of	89,000	900	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar)	Sultan of	12,000	1,500	Rs 49,000	40	None
Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab)	Sultan of	53,000	1,200	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Beihan (Beihan Qasb)	Amir of	13,000	4,000	Unlisted	40	None
Audhali (Lodar)	Sultan of	10,000	1,000	Unlisted	30	None
Haushabi (Musaimir)	Sultan of	10,000	350	Unlisted	29	None
Alawi (Al Qash'a) ..	Shaykh of	1,200	89	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed).	Shaykh of	2,000	101	Unlisted	Unlisted	None

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

643 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is
descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of
Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and
declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure
they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign
origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province,
including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and
Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a
Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of
Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious in-
567 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
795 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen
at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs
are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and
the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by
a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

YEMEN ML 1

H 174 Y 643

elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam.

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself "The Sacrifice"—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

H 622

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule.

H 174 622 793

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day.

H 622 643 648

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is, 9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of 631
Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with
Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa,
for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadh- [167]
ramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech
they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis.
But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is
considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their
contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at
Mukalla.

THE WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western 622
Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the 643
large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the
country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the 439
most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door 651
of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great
deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have
made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the
money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of
private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables
which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the
spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir,
which flow through his territory.

So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that 643
Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the 648
Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guard-
ing the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference,
His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's
Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so
wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally
that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no
axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has
made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remark-
able, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to
brook interference in their affairs from others.

There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty 622
relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have 631
agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly 648
with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the
Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi,
and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The
other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—
did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi,
and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are
treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi
Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh,the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh.
In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there
are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

622 631 646 the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

101 Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

000 Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if 000
any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they
are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult
problem from the point of view of good order and government in them.
I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect
of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute
a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation
of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of 162
recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western
Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area 311
is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater 241
proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the
cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are
on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the
tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them
tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers
of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to
dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej,
Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular
spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of
grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical
kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains,
and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali
country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where
temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance
European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes,
tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The 489
main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market
exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication 491
and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden 241
and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot,
almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So roadmaking
is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the
lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the
bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is
developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali
country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce
that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable
and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old.
Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore
make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth
while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the
desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high
mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is
being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western 640
Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and
send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

648 to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

871 212 000 The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate

133 [161] So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above 83
the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty- 648
five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, 101
and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and 241
lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the
Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that 311
have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to
wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, 565
the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, 463
as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of
imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven- 731
year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 90 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

178, The Wahidi Sultânate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in
66 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of
178 importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising
565 country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the
000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking
648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

000 turer's closing remarks—that Aden to-day is a very dreary place, and we have not done ourselves much credit in the century we have been there that it should be so. Aden is not only depressing in itself, but it has a depressing effect on all those who have been there. I expect most of you in this room have visited Aden, or have at least called there at some time or other, and you can bear out this description of the place.

Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams are, however, an exception to the general rule. They are not only a unique pair in the history of exploration in Arabia, but they are exceptional in the way they have managed to keep themselves unsullied by this atmosphere of intellectual and mental depression. They are, I believe, the first people really to have explored the south-west corner of Arabia. Colonel Jacob, a generation ago, did some very good work in that area, but even he was never tempted into the parts beyond easy reach of Aden itself. The Ingrams have contributed a very great deal to our knowledge of the region outside the immediate neighbourhood of Aden; a region of which I think it is fair to say that the only previous accounts were either travellers' tales or an occasional official report hidden away in the files of the Colonial Office. Mr. Ingrams also has written his official reports, but, unlike his predecessors, he has managed to see to it that he has been on the spot to carry out some of the things he recommended should be done. No doubt the people of Aden and the Hadhramaut are grateful to us as a nation for what Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams have done for them. For, apart from what the Ingrams had already then begun, it is only within the last ten years that we, as a ruling power, have seriously tried to do something for these areas that we claim to govern. 4

● 648 *Mr. Ingrams told us something about these countries of South-West
ME Arabia, he said, in order that we might be able to bring the area into the
646 general picture of what is called the sphere of Arab Federation.

We might call these countries prospective candidates for Arab Federation, were it not that under the conditions that obtain in Arabia to-day, Arab Federation is a completely impossible conception. You cannot have federation in any area of which half is free and the other half is under the control of foreign powers. However beneficent those powers may be, and even if they do good where they are in control, they ought not to be there at all.

Lahej is the natural fringe of the Yemen, and to the Yemen it will inevitably return some day. Hadhramaut always enjoyed a considerable measure of independence. Only in the second or third century A.D. was it absorbed into the Yemen of that day, and there is no question but that to-day it does not want to return to the Yemen nor to have anything to do with it.

On the other hand, a ruler who, like the King of Yemen, has governed an unruly country with success for upwards of forty years, deserves the gratitude of his people, for there is no doubt that had it had a less able ruler the country would have come under foreign control long since.

It may be interesting to you to know that to-day, as we sit here, a meeting is taking place between King Ibn Sa'ud of Sa'udi Arabia and King Farouk of Egypt at Yanbu' on the western coast of the Hedjaz. I do not think that under present circumstances Arab Federation has any

*[Mr. Philby speaking -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East MI

chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination. H L48 ME 648

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we 000 may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia. H

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he 114 has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the
721 Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two lead-
643 ing rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and
Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans,
728 but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from
Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and
625 respect. The police and local military formations already in existence
were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control.
701 Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use
in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin
[871] areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for
Bedouin boys and girls.

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113 * Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami 701
Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation 702
of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever 648
its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior.
For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because
of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers [212]
are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help
and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the
staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at
Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L.
has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers
should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not
exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick 702
their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in
their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to
speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day
life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time
of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the 142
headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in
appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the
local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he
comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress 291
will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is 302
thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be 142
long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard 411
will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of
the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is 304
emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their 751
faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their
elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to
bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the
antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long 714
hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over
shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a
shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he
wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends.
On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the
silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the [291]
Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turbanwise
round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. 702
King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all 701
officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders,
the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period
and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack
square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the
first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his 181
friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came 577
to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a 795
strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They 702
belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their 276
neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African [144]
blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an 567
institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, 648
when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from 631
attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

648 century and the early years of the twentieth the potential enemy on the
631 South Arabian mainland was Turkey, whose occupation of the province of Yemen brought its territory to within a short distance of Aden. The Turks, indeed, maintained a theoretical claim to the whole of Southern Arabia, including Aden itself. In practice, however, they accepted the existence of British protection over nine tribes adjacent to Aden, and these became known in diplomatic dealings between the British and Turkish Governments as the Nine Cantons, a term that still lingers, although the number of tribes in treaty relations with the British Government now far exceeds the original nine.

648 The Protectorate treaties are all cast in much the same form. It is a
631 very simple one, for the provisions are limited to a few short clauses stating that the gracious favour and protection of the British Sovereign shall be extended to the tribal chief, who, in return for a stipend, undertakes to have no relations with any other foreign Power. In some cases the treaties were supplemented by agreements about the security of roads or other matters of common interest, but generally speaking there was no attempt to introduce any direct British influence or even supervision in the internal affairs of the tribes. Aden was regarded as being primarily a fortress, and the purpose of the Protectorate was the creation and maintenance of a vacuum behind the fortress, into which no foreign intruders would be admitted. Provided that this object was secured, the Protecting Power at that time showed no interest in the welfare or development of the people of the country, who were left to their own devices and to their traditional vendettas and anarchy.

This indifference to the domestic concerns of the protected tribes was even more marked in the eastern part of the Protectorate than in the country nearer to Aden. Treaties of the same type as those already mentioned were made with the local chiefs on the sea coast to the east of Aden up to the borders of Muscat. The reason for this extension of the protected sphere was similar to that which led to the establishment of the Nine Cantons. Its object was the exclusion of foreign influence from Southern Arabia owing to the proximity of this territory to our vital sea communications with the East. The most important treaties with tribes to the east of Aden are those with the Quaiti Sultan of Shehr and Mukalla and with the Sultan of Qishn and Socotra, whose territory includes a mainland portion as well as the island of Socotra. No effort was made at that time to extend British influence inland from Mukalla or the neighbouring coast. The Government of India, by whom the Protectorate treaties were concluded, was content to have a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the 648 country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties 631 of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No 648 troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning- 663 point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the [186]
austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These 342
well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign 578
countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them /185
among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem 648
presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination 157
before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, 578
and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same 648
demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section 185
of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with 643
the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at 625
Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in /185
a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been disturbed by blood feuds and brigandage.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1

H 000 653 185 long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate A College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

181 162 179 H 648 It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. H 648 Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the H 609 648 186 British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind 609
of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for 648
these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit 186
to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel TOD: I do not know whether you would like to hear any- 000
thing of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the 643
fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which 491
he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by 721
no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they re- 648
conquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1903 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

721 is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government
648 towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

000 There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain Acworth: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England—say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

795 Sir Bernard Reilly: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.

LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE ADEN PROTECTORATE.

I.—The Aden Protectorate Order, 1937, and Orders made thereunder, 1937, No. 246.

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At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 18th day of March, 1937.

PRESENT,

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means His Majesty has power and jurisdiction within the territories known as the Protectorate of Aden:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the peace, order, and good government of the Protectorate of Aden:

53 & 54 Vict. c. 37.

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

Title.

1. This Order may be cited as the Aden Protectorate Order, 1937.

Limits of the Order.

2. This Order shall apply to the territories of Arabia which are bounded on the south by the Colony of Aden and the Gulf of Aden, on the west and north by the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and also to the Islands of Socotra and Abdul Quri and any other islands adjacent to the said territories.

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Definitions. 3.—(1) In this Order, unless the context otherwise requires—

"His Majesty" includes His Majesty's heirs and successors;

"the Secretary of State" means one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State;

"the Governor" includes every person for the time being administering the Government of the Colony of Aden;

"the Colony" means the Colony of Aden;

"the Protectorate" means the territories described in section 2 of this Order;

"the appointed day" means the first day of April nineteen hundred and thirty-seven;

"the Gazette" means the Gazette of the Protectorate;

"native of the Protectorate" means any person who is a member or either of whose parents is or was a member of a tribe or community indigenous to the Protectorate.

(2) The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament. 52 & 53 Vict. c. 63.

Governor. 4. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony shall be the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Protectorate, and he is hereby empowered and commanded to exercise on His Majesty's behalf all such powers and jurisdiction as His Majesty now has, or may from time to time have, therein, and to that end to take or cause to be taken all such measures and to do or cause to be done all such things therein as in the interest of His Majesty's service he may think expedient.

5. The Governor is hereby empowered and commanded to do all things that belong to his said office in accordance with such Commission as may be issued to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet, such Instructions as may from time to time be addressed to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet or through the Secretary of State, and such Orders in Council and other laws as may from time to time be in force in the Protectorate.

Governor to observe instructions etc.

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6. His Majesty hereby reserves to Himself, His heirs and successors power, with the advice of His or their Privy Council, from time to time, to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate.

Powers of legislation reserved to the Crown.

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7.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Order, all Acts, Orders, Rules, Regulations and other enactments having the force of law in the Protectorate on the appointed day shall, except so far as the same shall, in their application to the Protectorate, thereafter be repealed, amended or otherwise affected by or under any subsequent order, rule or other law, continue to have effect in the Protectorate, but shall be construed subject to such modifications as may be necessary to bring them into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936. (a)

Continuance of laws, and powers to make rules and orders.

(2) Without prejudice to any powers otherwise vested in him, the Governor is hereby empowered to make rules and orders for the following purposes:—

(a) to modify the provisions of any Order of His Majesty in Council in force in the Protectorate on the appointed day, in order to bring such provisions into conformity with the provisions of this Order and of the Aden Colony Order, 1936;

(b) to amend, add to, or repeal any other enactment to which subsection (1) of this section applies;

(c) to apply in whole or in part, with such modifications (if any) as to him may seem neces-

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(a) S.R. & O. 1936 (No. [illegible]) I, p. 1.

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sary or expedient, any Act, Order, Rule, Regulation or other enactment from time to time in force in the Colony, to persons in the Protectorate not being natives of the Protectorate;

(*d*) to regulate or prohibit the entry into the Protectorate of persons not being natives of the Protectorate; and

(*e*) to secure the enforcement within the Protectorate of judgments, orders and decrees of the Courts of the Colony.

(3) For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that all Rules and Orders made before the appointed day by the Governor-General of India in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, have, in so far as at any time before the date of this Order they applied to the Protectorate and have not in such application been expressly repealed or revoked, continued in force in the Protectorate notwithstanding that the Protectorate has ceased to be a territory in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor-General of India in Council or some authority subordinate to him, and subsection (1) of this section shall apply accordingly to such Rules and Orders.

Disallowance of rules and orders.

8. It shall be lawful for His Majesty to disallow any rule or order made by the Governor in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Order or any other Order of His Majesty in Council and to signify such disallowance through the Secretary of State. Every rule or order so disallowed shall cease to have effect from the time when the signification of such disallowance shall be published by the Governor by notice in the Gazette, but without prejudice to anything lawfully done or suffered thereunder.

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Jurisdiction of Courts of the Colony.

9. The Supreme Court of the Colony and all Courts of the Colony inferior to the Supreme Court shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of any law in that behalf from time to time in force in the Colony, have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person not being a native of the Protectorate is

concerned, in the same manner and to the same extent as if such matters had arisen in the Colony. 648 671x 698

10. In the event of the Governor having occasion at any time to be absent for a short period from the seat of Government, or in the exercise or discharge of any powers or duties conferred or imposed upon him by virtue of his office to visit any neighbouring territories, he may by an Instrument under the Public Seal appoint any person to be his Deputy within the Protectorate or any part thereof during such temporary absence, and in that capacity to exercise, perform and execute for and on behalf of the Governor during such absence, but no longer, all such powers and authorities vested in the Governor as shall in and by such Instrument be specified and limited, but no others. Deputies. 648 671x

Every such Deputy shall conform to and observe all such instructions as the Governor shall from time to time address to him for his guidance. The power and authority of the Governor shall not by the appointment of a Deputy as aforesaid be abridged, altered or in any way affected otherwise than His Majesty may at any time hereafter think proper to direct.

11. The Governor may constitute and appoint all such necessary officers as may be lawfully constituted or appointed by His Majesty, all of whom, unless otherwise provided by law, shall hold their offices during His Majesty's pleasure. Appointment of Officers.

12. When any offence has been committed for which the offender may be tried by any of His Majesty's courts having jurisdiction within the Protectorate, the Governor may, as he shall see occasion, in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf, grant a pardon to any accomplice in such offence who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of the principal offender or of any one of such offenders if more than one; and further may grant to any offender convicted in any such court a pardon, either free or subject to lawful conditions, or any remission of the sentence passed on such offender, or any respite of the execution of such sentence, for such period as the Governor thinks fit, and may remit any penalties or forfeitures due to His Majesty. Pardon. 648 671x 696

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13. The Governor may, subject to the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Protectorate and to such instructions as may from time to time be given to him by His Majesty through the Secretary of State, upon sufficient cause to him appearing, dismiss or suspend from the exercise of his office any person holding any public office under the Crown in the Protectorate, or, subject as aforesaid, may take such other disciplinary action as may seem to him desirable.

ublic Seal.

14. The Seal now or hereafter in use as the Public Seal of the Colony shall be also the Public Seal of the Protectorate and shall be used for sealing all things whatsoever that shall pass the said Seal.

aving for ast acts.

15. Nothing in this Order shall affect the validity or future operation of any lawful act done by any authority in the Protectorate before the appointed day.

evocation or mendment Order.

16. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, add to or amend this Order.

ommence- ent.

17. This Order shall come into operation on the appointed day.

M. P. A. Hankey.

III.—The Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, and Orders made thereunder by the Governor General in Council.

No. 3917-I. A.—dated the 12th September 1902.—The following Order of His Majesty the King in Council which appeared in the London Gazette of the 13th June 1902, is republished for general information. 671 x 648

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The 11th day of June 1902.

PRESENT:

The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Lord President.

Earl of Kintore.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Sir John Winfield Bonser.

Whereas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means, His Majesty the King has powers and jurisdiction, exercised on His behalf by the Governor General of India in Council, in India and in certain territories adjacent thereto;

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue and in exercise of the powers by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or otherwise in His Majesty vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. This Order may be cited as the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902.

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2. The limits of this Order are the territories of India outside British India, and any other territories which may be declared by His Majesty in Council to be territories in which jurisdiction is exercised by or on behalf of His Majesty through the Governor General of India in Council, or some authority subordinate to him, including the territorial waters of any such territories.

3. The Governor General of India in Council may, on His Majesty's behalf, exercise any power or jurisdiction which His Majesty or the Governor General of India in Council for the time being has within the limits of this Order and may delegate any such power or jurisdiction to any servant of the British Indian Government in such manner and to such extent as the Governor General in Council from time to time thinks fit.

4. The Governor General in Council may make such rules and orders as may seem expedient for carrying this Order into effect, and in particular—

(*a*) for determining the law and procedure to be observed, whether by applying with or without modifications all or any of the provisions of any enactment in force elsewhere, or otherwise;

(*b*) for determining the persons who are to exercise jurisdiction, either generally or in particular classes of cases, and the powers to be exercised by them;

(*c*) for determining the courts, authorities, judges, and magistrates, by whom, and for regulating the manner in which, any jurisdiction, auxiliary or incidental to or consequential on the jurisdiction exercised under this Order, is to be exercised in British India;

(*d*) for regulating the amount, collection, and application of fees.

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5. All appointments, delegations, certificates, requisitions, rules, notifications, processes, orders, and directions made or issued under or in pursuance of any enactment of the Indian Legislature regulating the exercise of foreign jurisdiction, are hereby confirmed, and shall have effect as if made or issued under this Order.

6. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply to the construction of this Order.

A. W. FITZROY.

Delegation o powers to th Governor of Bombay in Council.

No. **2889-I. A.**—dated the 19th June 1903.—In exercise of the powers conferred by article 3 of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to delegate to the Governor of Bombay in Council the power to make rules and orders within the places set forth in the Schedule hereto annexed, which is conferred on the Governor General in Council by article 4 of the said Order in Council:

Provided that the exercise of the power hereby delegated shall be subject to the control of the Governor General in Council;

Provided also, that nothing in this notification shall be deemed to preclude the Governor General in Council from exercising any power hereby delegated.

The Schedule.

(Not reproduced. See Gazette of India, 1903, Pt. I, p. 515.)

Criminal law and procedure of British India applicable to British subjects in Native States.

No. **1863-I. A.**, dated the 13th May, 1904.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased, with effect from the 1st day of June, 1904, to direct that, for the purposes of any power or jurisdiction exercised under that Order, the law relating to offences and to criminal procedure for the time being in force in British India shall, subject as to procedure to such modifications as the Governor General in Council from time to time directs, apply, so far as applicable, to all subjects of His Majesty.

PART I.

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1. The provisions, so far as they can be made applicable in the circumstances for the time being, and as amended for the time being by subsequent enactments, of the enactments specified in the First Schedule, are hereby applied to the Aden Protectorate, subject, in the case of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), to the modifications specified in the Second Schedule to this part.

2. For the purpose of facilitating the application of the said enactments to the Aden Protectorate, any Court for the Aden Protectorate may construe any provision in any such enactment with such alterations not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court.

3. No legal practitioner shall be permitted to appear in any case before any Court without the express authority in writing of the Political Resident.

The First Schedule.

Enactments Applied.

Number and year.	Subject.
Act XLV of 1860,	Penal Code.
Act V of 1898,	Criminal Procedure.
Regulation IV of 1901,	Frontier Murderous Outrages.

The Second Schedule.

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Modifications in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898).

(a) The Court of Session may take cognisance of any offence as a Court of original jurisdiction without the accused person being committed to it by a Magistrate and shall, when so taking cognisance of any offence, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. 648 671x 692

(b) Save as hereinafter provided, no appeal shall lie from any order of any Sessions Judge.

(c) Trials before the Court of Session may, in the discretion of the Sessions Judge, be without jury or the aid of assessors.

(d) In cases under Regulation IV of 1901, no sentence of death passed by an Assistant Resident shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Political Resident. 648 671x 681 692

(e) In cases under other acts, no sentence of death passed by any Court shall be carried out unless and until it is confirmed by the Governor of Bombay.

(f) All sentences of imprisonment passed by an Assistant Resident for a term exceeding one year shall be submitted for confirmation to the Political Resident.

In any case in which an Assistant Resident passes a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, an appeal shall be to the Political Resident.

No. 308-E.B., dated the 1st February, 1907.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Orders:— Constitution of Criminal Courts. 648 671x 693

PART II.

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For the purposes of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction as regards the Aden Protectorate :—

1. The Political Resident and, with the sanction of the Political Resident in writing, the Assistant Resident for the time being of Aden shall exercise the powers of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges as described in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and of Deputy Commissioners or Sessions Judges under the Frontier Murderous Outrages Regulation, 1901, as applied by this notification.

2. If in any case in which the complainant (if any) and the accused person or all the accused persons are not British subjects, the Court deems it expedient for political reasons to decline to exercise the power so conferred on it, it shall be in the discretion of the Court to do so.

3. The Political Resident and Assistant Residents for the time being at Aden are hereby appointed to be Justices of the Peace within the Aden Protectorate.

4. The High Court of Judicature at Bombay shall be the Court to which European British subjects charged in Aden with any offence (other than an offence punishable with death) which a Justice of the Peace shall not be competent to punish, and there shall be sufficient grounds for committing him for trial, such European British subject shall be committed to the Court of the Resident, and shall be tried by the Resident.

The visit to Sayyid Abû Bakr was quite official in character; 647
there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been mono- [463]
polised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramîs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramîs are Dutch subjects and as I was con- 648 ●
sidered to be their partisan, an impression which had been 641
still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwî el-ʿAṭṭâs, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer 162
told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramîs come from Java every year 167
and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. 272
Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export 439
figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we 133
clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

into an association of the el-'Aṭṭās family. The idea of the 575
association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid 199
Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern 584
element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, 648
the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥaḍramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥaḍramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. 000
In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

312 (that is a little more than 300 feet). Groups of sturdy male and female slaves, singing in unison the while, raised the water-bags by a pulley and emptied the contents into a conduit which led to a cemented basin. Cheap labour on the one hand and capital earned abroad on the other make it possible to keep such places as Ḥurēḍa in condition. The palm-groves are kept alive by the *sēl,* but seem to be on the decline and, on their borders, to be giving way to accumulating heaps of sand.

●648 On the evening of the 21st of May, I was officially received in the simple dwelling of the Governor of Ḥurēḍa. The Governor of el-Meshhed and Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās, however, acted as hosts and leaders of the meeting. The Governor is a quiet, friendly, young man and the whole atmosphere is particularly gentle and kind. A youthful poet of the el-ʿAṭṭās family had composed a song of welcome. Sayyid Ḥasan makes a speech in which the poem is recited and in which he welcomes us as the first Europeans to visit Ḥurēḍa. As Dutch subjects, they are very much delighted that one of us is an envoy of the Netherlands Government. In my reply I said that it seemed right and fair to me that the Dutchman has preceded the Briton in Ḥurēḍa, for with the Dutch in Java exist the more long-standing and intimate relations. In Ḥaḍramaut, along with agreeable surprises, I also found disappointing conditions. We considered the energetic Ḥaḍramīs, whom we know in Java, to be capable of improving the backward conditions which exist in their fatherland.

I seized every opportunity that was offered to me to point to the necessity of independent activity and thus to answer the repeated requests for Dutch or other foreign help for the achieving of better conditions.

172 My companion, with the Bedouin Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, climbed Djebel Ghumdān to investigate the wonders that are told of this historic summit. There should be ruins, and a deep well on the top was said to have a subterranean connection with Bīr ʿAlī on the coast. The ruins of defensive towers on

94:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1932)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Fighting is stopped by mutual

agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of 728 the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision.

We have become aware during these last days that the 721 insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭâs family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurêḍa through a war zone.

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrânîs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqris we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the 721 brothers Buqrî, who know the world, continue the discussion 648 over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqris would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater

721 and the police better in the Dutch colonial territories. This
● 648 same question was repeated again in the evening, in the
reception-room of our host at Hênin. However pleasing I may have found these signs of appreciation for western colonial government on the part of an eastern Muḥammadan people, I continued to answer with evasions and urged them to take the matter into their own hands and to achieve unity, forced on by necessity.

2. THE OLD DYING TOWN OF HÊNIN.

It cost us much pains to decline the pressing invitations to stay longer and to continue the journey to Hênin in the afternoon.

The hot wind is still filling the wādī with a thick, high-driven mist of sand and dust. The Buqrīs, with their numerous soldiers crowding round them, accompany us till we are outside the gate on the side away from the enemy. Obviously they are all sorry we are leaving so soon and that this variation in their monotonous life comes to so early an end. Before our departure we promise, gladly and faithfully, should we return by this route, to spend the night in their high, beautiful castle. Before long Diyār Āl Buqrī has disappeared in the haze of sand and we travel in absolute solitude amongst the hillocks of loam. Bin ʿAwaḍ Martaʿ, steering a very twisting course, seeks those places where his car can pass between the line of hills. The lower parts are filled with fine sand that lies piled up by the wind so that we have to go by way of the slopes at the foot of the loam-hills. We pass a few tumble-down villages; of vegetation there is hardly a trace.

361 The number of settlements increases as we approach the
241 neighbourhood of Hênin. They are situated partly at the foot
134 of the mountain-wall which forms the northern bank of Wādī
el-Kasr, and partly close by, in the bed of the wādī. Little dykes, which make rectangular divisions in the loam, are a sure proof that agriculture was once carried on here. It does not

In the

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all 342
sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One 167
can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of 177
civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in 641
huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many 191
Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits
Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's
greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more
than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is
a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence
of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's
entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth
of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words
from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals [262]
served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few
horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western
Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese
women who have been brought here by their husbands and
who will never more return to their country. The mixture of [144]
races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the
features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the 648 ●
ṣalāt and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from
enemies who work against him behind his back with the help
of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he
has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of
Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to
subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening
banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further
a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered
sufficient here. During the following days there is a
great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it.
Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional 578
question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the 648
Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this
privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the
Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] [ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin Āl Kathīrī, Sultan of Sēwūn -- Analyst]

578 neutral and too democratic. Although there are heated argu-
ments and great differences of opinion come to light, these do
not in the least disturb the hearty hospitality that, here once
●648 again, we find such a surprising experience. We are also in-
variably required to give our impressions of Ḥaḍramaut. This
is done with the object of hearing our opinion about the lack
of legal security, the great poverty of the people, the back-
wardness of the country as regards education, roads and irri-
gation. My attempts to keep myself out of the game by making
comparisons between conditions here and those which I had
become acquainted with in the two other independent Arabian
kingdoms, the Yemen and the Hedjaz, were followed with
attention, but did not serve my aim. Finally, the Sultan or one
of his advisers asks directly what we think of the state of
affairs here. It is then no longer possible to avoid answering,
and we give frank vent to our disappointment over the great
lack of unity and the state of warfare which are a disgrace to
the leading Ḥaḍramis, whom we have known as able, energetic
men and peaceful citizens in Java. I then say to them that
they ought not to look for help from abroad, whether it be
from England or Holland, or from whatever other country
they expect it, but that they must seek unity amongst them-
selves and set their hand to the plough with self-confidence;
then, with the help of Allah, they will succeed in putting an
end to many shameful conditions in their country. We repeated
this in many keys in all parts of the Āl Kathīr country and
never noticed that it spoiled our excellent relations in the least
degree.

000 As soon as the Sultan notices that we are desirous of rest, he gives the sign to withdraw, and all present, with the exception of a number of servants, follow their lord and master out of the room. The servants crowd joyously round the samovar, which goes on producing numberless glasses of tea until deep into the night, and it does not occur to them that we, blasé Europeans, may perhaps be disturbed by the stories told and the songs sung by them. The nights passed on the great roof-

often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless 508
internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to 489
go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom
knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew 186
formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of 641
Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot 578
give you any information about the wādis and mountains
a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sêwûn is
a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has
seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by
the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive
at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeʿêṭī
and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world,
including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects
have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over
the Qeʿêṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The
site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed
quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace 735
at ʿIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion 312
is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may
be obtained. In and around Sêwûn the water-level is not 653
deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and
fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged
if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be
done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in
practice. The pump at Hêuin has to work eight hours a day
to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees,
and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than
can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The
soil in Sêwûn is better and water nearer to the surface, and
yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does
not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian
wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with
the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the
days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

3.Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East

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133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from
about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands
and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
241 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley,
and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance
are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious
habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
132 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the
241 pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this
167 being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides
the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of
631 some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
● 648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Govern-
ment and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

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[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar 161
of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited 631
largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved 648
a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in Decem- [668]
ber 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn
and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser 643
strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his
mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of
his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most im- [625]
portant ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of
Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of
lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal
guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British
Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 721
1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate,
and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami
Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of
what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his 648
staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial
help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial
Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend
£410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only
£23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder
to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a [731]
serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less
serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly 651
helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami 312
emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political 311
changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have
adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have
had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development
of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40
miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from
Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was
becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the
Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns,
the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the
board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple 248
cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

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[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.

[2] ibid. p. 61.

[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 60–3.

[4] See above, p. 112.

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M1 Middle East
Aden Colony MM1
Hadhramaut MM2

A The recent radical change in the position of India, however, will
636 undoubtedly necessitate a revision of the Aden system of appeals.

The city of Aden, the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, and[5] Kamaran, thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule. This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

H The Protectorate. The hinterland of Aden was not organized by
648 the British into a colony, but into a Protectorate along colonial
lines. Its present organization is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937.[6] Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate, and the functions exercised in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by a Political Secretary. The powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils do not extend to the Protectorate.

H The region is divided into two parts: the Western Protectorate
[643] and the Eastern Protectorate. With the exception of the Sultan
648 of Lahej the chiefs in the Western Protectorate generally possess
H only limited control over their subjects; the states in the Eastern
631 Protectorate are more fully organized. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions in the Protectorate were left intact, and the area is administered according to the
H principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to
648 make laws for the peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. At the same time the Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legisla-

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[5] The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery, as is the case in Aden Colony. The latter indicates the use of existing native institutions and the placing of many of the actual administrative functions in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

(see footnote 6 on following page)

[6] S. R. & O., 1937, pp. 750 - 57, as amended. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state, but remains legally a foreign country. The natives of the protectorate are not British subjects, but subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedience" to the British Crown; see King v. The Earl of Crewe, ex parte Sekgome, Law Reports, King's Bench Division, 1910, vol. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, aside from treaties with the local rulers, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54 Victoria c. 37, as amended). See in general W. E. Hall, A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown (Oxford, 1894).

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 MI Middle East

HADhramaut MM2
Aden MM1

tion enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This point is of considerable practical importance. For example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden, which was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937, would apply to all foreign, including British, companies, but not to a native unless it had been made a part of the local legislation in the individual state in question. The situation with regard to the judicial organization is similar in that the Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is not a native is concerned.

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The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[7] Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was extended until in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. The important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question, and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by the British; in case of noncompliance with the treaty provisions, discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line.

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The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local rulers to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with their immediate neighbors) are concerned, they are wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases,

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[7] The various treaties and agreements between Great Britain and the various rulers in the Arabian Peninsula are collected in India, Foreign and Political Department: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by C. U. Aitchison (Delhi, 1933), vol. 11. [Hereafter quoted as Aitchison.]

Hadhramaut MM2

648 to all fields of administration, as far as such exists at all in the 643 individual states.

618 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Eastern as well as the Western Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the nineteen-thirties. On August 13, 1937, an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate. This was followed in February 1939 by a similar agreement with the Sultan of Seyun, who had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British.[8] In these treaties the native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. They follow closely the pattern of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to develop the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed before World War II in Malaya, with which the sultanates of the Hadramaut have close cultural ties.[9] In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arab members. The Council acts as the Sultan's cabinet.

The main task of the Resident Adviser of the Hadramaut is to organize a modern administration. In response to native apprehensions, Harold Ingrams, the first to hold this post, stressed that this did not mean direct British administration but that on the contrary local inhabitants were to be employed as far as possible. Owing to the small number of trained native officials, however, the administrative services are to a considerable extent 648 staffed with British experts. The administrative machinery set up under these agreements has thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative processes should be handled by natives to a larger extent than has been the case so far, British control would not be diminished, for the Resident Adviser can always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British Government does not approve.

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[8] Seyun had an agreement with Mukalla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut "being an appanage of the British Empire," should be one province. The Agreement was renewed in a revised form in 1939.

[9] For the contents and scope of these agreements, see Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, 1942), pp. 316–17, 338–40, 347–49. Harold Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate thus follows a pattern which lies between that of Malaya and that found in most of the British protectorates in Africa. In line with the latter was the Order in Council of 1937, which stressed the basic right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. At the same time, the administration of the Aden Protectorate follows more strictly the lines of indirect rule than in most of Africa,[10] and the rights reserved to the sultans and sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate are more extensive than those of their African counterparts. The British have also refrained from establishing by general ordinance the rights and duties of native authorities and native courts, and from giving the Governor the right to constitute and abolish them. Constitutionally speaking, it would thus appear that the 643 internal sovereign rights left to the Protectorate rulers are not regarded as derived from British authority but as inherent in the ruling chief.[11]

In this connection it should also be mentioned that a decision of the High Court of Bombay in 1897 accorded the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla immunity from jurisdiction, thereby putting him into the same category as the Indian and Malay rulers.[12] The chiefs of the African protectorates, on the other hand, are not granted immunity and may be sued in British courts like any private individual.[13] The problem of immunity of the local rulers is of increasing practical importance at a time when the economic

[10] Zanzibar is an exception in some respects.

[11] A similar construction is put by the Colonial Office upon the sovereign rights of the Indian princes. See Statham v. Statham and the Gaekwar of Baroda, *Law Reports*, 1912, p. 92.

[12] Chandu Lal Kushalji v. Awad bin Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla. *Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series*, 1897, p. 351.

[13] Tshekedi Khama v. Ratshosa, *Law Reports, Appeal Cases*, 1931, pp. 784-98.

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date) 1947 M1 Middle East M1
Hadhramaut MM2

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643 and political isolation of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula is slipping away. The granting of immunity from jurisdiction means that the respective rulers are regarded as sovereigns and, as a basic rule, cannot be sued in foreign courts. In British cases dealing with Indian and Malay rulers, the executive departments of the British Government have invariably stressed the attributes of sovereignty still residing in the local rulers which, in their opinion, exempted them from the jurisdiction of the courts.[14] In recent years the courts have on at least two occasions ruled against this principle by denying immunity to Indian rajahs in cases involving tax matters.[15] It is too early to say, however, whether this indicates a general trend or whether the change in
H attitude was based upon the special circumstances of the cases.

648 Britain has concluded treaties with only the more important
643 chiefs of the Protectorate. Thus, while it is probable that British courts would treat at least the rulers of the well-organized states of the Hadramaut as sovereign chiefs in the Indian sense and grant them immunity, it is doubtful whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist would be accorded a like status.

THE PERSIAN GULF STATES

ME Concurrently with the establishment of their paramount posi-
648 tion in the Aden hinterland, and for much the same reasons, the British endeavored to consolidate their influence in Oman and along the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The early nineteenth century treaties which Britain concluded with the various rulers of the Persian Gulf coast dealt mainly with piracy, arms traffic, and general problems of maritime security in the Gulf. These treaty relations were gradually expanded until, with the exception of Muscat, Great Britain obtained full control over the foreign relations of the Gulf states. The large oil resources discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to its position in this regard.

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[14] One of the leading cases is Duff-Development Company v. Government of Kelantan, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, p. 97. For a more recent Indian case, see Gaekwar of Baroda State Railways v. Hafiz Habib-ul-Haq and others, Indian Appeals, 1937-38, vol. 65, p. 182.

(See footnote 15 on the following page)

Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2I

A The city of Aden together with the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the Island of
101 Perim thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule. (5)

This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects. In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden to the Colonial Office, the ties with India have not been completely broken. A large amount of British
A Indian legislation, which had been made applicable to Aden, con-
692 tinues in force. The judicial organization, moreover, is still closely
671 linked with India since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lie in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden, British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

H 2. The Aden Protectorate. The present organization of the Pro-
642 tectorate is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of
● 648 18 March 1937. (6) Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate. (7) The functions exercised

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5. The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery as is the case in Aden Colony. In the latter case use is made of existing native institutions and many of the actual administrative functions are in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

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The islands of Kuria Muria, and Kamaran are also British possessions administered under the control of the Governor of Aden.

6. S. R. & O. 1937, pp. 750-57; amended 10 July 1940, S. R. & O. 1940, pp. 397-98.

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7. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a
600 colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state but

in the Colony by the Civil Secretary are here exercised by the Political Secretary. 642 The Protectorate is divided into two parts; 648 the Eastern Protectorate and the Western Protectorate. In contrast with the Colony, the native governmental institutions were left intact and the area is administered according to the principles of indirect rule. The Crown has reserved the right to make laws for peace, good order, and government of the Protectorate. The Governor may enact certain rules and orders and may especially extend to the Protectorate legislation enacted for the Colony. Such legislation, however, applies only to persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. This is of considerable practical importance. To take an example, the mining legislation for the Colony of Aden was extended to the Protectorate by the Governor in 1937. It would apply to an American or British company concerned with mining operations in the Protectorate. In order to be applicable to a native, it would have to be made part of the local native legislation in the individual states. 642 The Supreme Court and the inferior courts of the Colony have jurisdiction in all matters arising in the Protectorate in which any person who is

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remains legally a foreign country. The natives of 000 a protectorate are not British subjects but remain subjects of the local ruler. They do not owe allegiance but only a limited "obedience" to the British Crown; cf. King v. The Earl of Crewe, ex parte Sekgome, Law Reports, King's Bench Division, 1910. v. 2, pp. 619-20. The right of the Crown to exercise legislative and administrative functions in such areas is based, besides treaties with the local governments, upon the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (53 & 54 Victoria c. 37, as amended). This act which consolidated earlier legislation, entitles the Crown "to hold, exercise and enjoy any jurisdiction which Her Majesty now has or may at any time hereafter have within a foreign country in the same and as ample amanner as if Her Majesty had acquired that jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

642 not a native of the Protectorate is concerned.

648 The relations of the British with the various native states in the Aden Protectorate are based on treaties concluded with the sultans and sheikhs in the course of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Treaty relations with neighboring sheikhs were established by the British soon after the occupation of Aden in order to make the waters and roads around the port safe for peaceful traffic. Gradually British influence in the Aden hinterland was increased and, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, protectorate treaties were concluded with most of the more important local rulers. Specimen of the main types of these treaties are given in Appendix I. A list of the states indicating their treaty relations is contained in Appendix II. The older treaties follow specimen A (or A_1), the later ones mostly follow specimen B (or B_1). The most important features of these agreements are the extension of British protection to the native state in question and the promise of the local ruler not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of his territory in favor of a power other than Great
6224 Britain. Most of the sultans and sheikhs were granted stipends by
648 the British; in case of non-compliance with the treaty provision,
6224 discontinuance of the stipend was used as a weapon to force the rebellious sheikh into line. The protectorates thus established restrict the sovereignty of the local ruler to a very considerable degree. As far as international relations (including those with his immediate neighbors)are concerned, he is wholly unable to pursue an independent course. In internal affairs there exists a somewhat larger degree of autonomy, but British over-all control extends, in most cases, more or less to all fields of administration as far as a regular administration exists at all in the given individual state.

648 Treaties of the above type were concluded with rulers in the Western as well as the Eastern Protectorate. The relationship between the British and the important sultans in the so-called Hadramaut in the Eastern Protectorate was modified, however, in the late thirties. On 13 August 1937 an agreement was concluded between the British Government and the Qu'ayti Sultan of Shihr and Makalla in which the former agreed to provide a Resident Adviser for the sultanate

Hadhramaut MM42

This was followed by a similar agreement with the Kathiri Sultan of Seyun in February 1939. The latter ruler had not been previously in direct treaty relations with the British. (8) In these treaties the native rulers agreed to take the advice of the Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Moslem religion and custom. These treaties did not abrogate earlier agreements, such as the protectorate treaty with the Sultan of Mukalla of 1890, but were supplementary to them. (9) They follow closely the pattern of the treaties concluded by Great Britain with the Unfederated Malay States, and it is apparently the aim of the British Government to build up the administration of the Hadramaut states along the lines followed in Malaya. (10) It is not surprising that the Malayan model is followed in the Hadramaut since these sultanates have close cultural ties with Malaya. The main task of the

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8. Seyun had an agreement with Makulla, concluded in 1918, in which it was stated that the Hadramaut should be one province "being an appanage of the British Empire." The agreement was renewed in an altered form in 1939.

9. For the contents and scope of these agreements of Harold Ingrams, Arabia and the Isles, London 1942, pp. 316-17, 338-40, 347-49.

10. The postion of these states is discussed by Keith, op. cit., pp. 508-12. They are termed protected states in order to distinguish them from the so-called colonial protectorates which in status are hardly differentiated from colonies; of. Keith, op. cit., pp. 497-507. Harold Ingrams, who was the first Resident Adviser to the Hadramaut states, studied the Malayan system during a visit there in 1939.

Hadhramaut

MM21

648 Resident Adviser was to organize a modern administration. This did not mean, as was stressed by Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser, that direct British administration was to be set up. Quite to the contrary, local inhabitants should be used as far as possible. (11) Due to the small number of trained native officials, however, the administration services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. (12)

645 In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was
648 set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arabian
648 members. (13) The council acts as the Sultan's cabinet. These agreements have thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative machinery should be handled by natives to a larger extent than is now the case, the Resident Adviser could always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British government does not approve. Besides his functions described above the Resident Adviser is in charge of British relations with all states in the Eastern Protectorate under the control of the Governor.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate as a whole

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11. There was some apprehension in Mukalla that the appointment of a Resident Adviser would mean direct British rule. This is shown by the proclamation of the Sultan of 22 October 1937 in which he took occasion to deny rumors that Britain had taken over his country; cf. Oriente Moderno, 18 (1938) p. 42.

12. More use could be made of native officials in Mukalla than in Seyun. E.g. the treasurer of Mukalla is an Arab, whereas a British official, the so-called Financial Officer, is in charge of financial affairs in Seyun; cf. Ingrams, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

13. Ingrams, ibid., p. 349.

648 follows a pattern which lies somewhere between that used in most of the African Protectorates and the one worked out in Malaya. Unlike Malaya, however, an Order in Council was enacted for the Protectorate stressing the right of the Crown to legislate for the territory. On the other hand, the Aden Protectorate Order in Council is more limited in scope than are those enacted for most of the colonial protectorates in Africa in that British jurisdiction is restricted to non-natives. (14) The difference in status of the states in the Aden Protectorate, as compared with the tribal states of tropical Africa, is of practical importance. Whereas the chiefs in the African colonial protectorates may be sued in British courts like private individuals, 643 648 (1[illegible]rulers of the countries in the Aden Protectorate are regarded as sovereigns in the sense of international law. Accordingly, they enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of British courts or any other foreign court. (16) This immunity is absolute with regard to criminal

14. A similar restriction is contained, however, in the Zanzibar Order in Council of 1924 as amended; cf. The Laws of the Zanzibar Protectorate, rev. ed., 1934, vol. 4, pp. 115-129.

15. This is apparent from Tshokedi Khama v. Ratshosa, Law Reports, Appeal Cases, 1931, pp. 784-98.

16. Cf. Chandu Lal v. 'Awad bin 'Umar, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, 1897, p. 351. Because of the close association with India of some of the Protectorate rulers it may be noted that the legal situation is rather different in the latter case. According to section 86 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure (Act V of 1908 as amended), permission of the Crown Representative, the Central Government of India, or their delegates, is necessary before a suit against any ruling chief or his representative can be instituted in an Indian court. American courts likewise accord immunity to states which are not fully sovereign; cf. Kawananakoa v. Polyblank, United States Reports, v. 205 (1907), p. 349; Porto Rico v. Rosaly y Castillo, United States Reports,

Hadhramaut
MM21

v. 227 (1913), p. 270.

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jurisdiction and subject only to a few exceptions as far as civil jurisdiction is concerned, (17)

17. These apply primarily to suits concerning real estate possessed by a sovereign as private individual in a foreign country and to the case that the sovereign waives the exemption; cf. in general A. S. Hershey, The Essentials of International Public Law and Organization, New York, 1939, pp. 412-13; also Indian Code of Civil Procedure, article 86.

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It has to be stressed that Great Britain has not concluded treaties with all the chiefs in the Protectorate. Treaty chiefs have to be regarded as sovereign ruling chiefs, to use Indian terminology, technically ~~even~~ though their sovereignty is very restricted. Whether small chiefs with whom no treaty relations exist could be regarded as ruling chiefs entitled to immunity would have to be determined on the merits of the individual case.

In order to appraise correctly the actual position of most of the states in the Protectorate, it must be kept in mind that the governmental organization of most of them is only incompletely developed and that very often the power of the central ruler does not extend very far beyond his capital. The reorganization of the governmental organization along modern lines, which was inaugurated in the two Hadramaut states, will probably lead to an ever closer approximation of the status of these countries to that of the Malay states.

D. The Persian Gulf States

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1. General. The British position along the Gulf of Oman and on the western shore of the Persian Gulf was secured in the course of the nineteenth century. It was established primarily as a safeguard of the important route to India. Though strategic considerations are still paramount, the large oil reserves discovered in the area have given a vastly increased value to the close British relations with the Persian Gulf states. The legal basis for Great Britain's position is to be found in various treaties which the British concluded

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Yemen ML1

6118 2. The Yemen. A treaty between Great Britain and Yeme was concluded on 11 February 1934. (39) Known as Treaty of San'a, it put the relations between Great Britain and the Yemen on a stable basis, especially with regard to frontier questions. Great Britain recognized the Imám as King of Yemen and acknowledged the "complete and absolute independence. . . in all affairs whatsoever." Friendship and peace is to be maintained between the contracting parties. In this instance, too, there are none of the characteristics which would force the Yemen into a position of legal dependence on Great Britain, the treaty presupposing a basis of sovereign equality for this Arabian country.

39. Great Britain, Foreign Office, Treaty Series, 1934, no. 34. Cf. Toynbee, op. cit., 1934, pp. 308-10.

Hadhramaut
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APPENDIX II.

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List of [illegible] Chiefs of the Aden Protectorate

The following gives the names of the more important chiefs and tribal confederations of the Aden Protectorate. Noted under each entry are (a) the type of treaty concluded with the chief of confederation in question; (b) the date when it was concluded; and (c) the date when it was ratified by the Viceroy of India.

1. Western Aden Protectorate

Abdali (Sultan of Lahej)

Treaty of 7 March 1849. In this treaty of Sultan "most solemnly attests the religious sincerity of this agreement and moreover declares that in all things relating to the peace, progress and prosperity of Aden, he will lend his utmost aid to support the interest of the British, and will listen to and, if possible, attend to the advice of the British Government representative in Aden in all matters."

Alawi

Protectorate Treaty of 16 July 1895 (ratified 20 October 1895). specimen A. Agreement of 1914 very similar to Haushabi agreement of same year, not ratified.

Agrabi (independent subdivision of Abdali)

Protectorate treaty, specimen A, concluded 15 July 1888. (ratified 26 February 1890)

Atifi and Barhimi (Subaihi sub-tribes)

Protectorate treaties specimen A concluded in 1889. (ratified 26 February 1890)

Audali

Treaty with Sultan of 19 September 1914 (ratified 10 November 1914), specimen B.

Hadhramaut MM2

648 Aulaki, Lower

Treaty with Sultans of 2 June 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A.

Aulaki, Upper

Treaty with Sheikh Mahsib-Bin-Farid-Bin-Nasar-al-Aulaki of 8 December 1903 (ratified 5 February 1904), specimen B.

Treaty with Sultan Saleh-bin-Abdulla-bin-Abdulla of 18 March 1904 (ratified 23 April 1904), specimen B.

Baihan

Treaty of 27 December 1908 (ratified 24 February 1904). specimen A.

Dhala, Amir of

Treaty of 28 November 1904 (ratified 8 February 1905), specimen B with the following changes and additions:

article 5. No stipend clause.

article 6. Amir undertakes to maintain boundary line established by joint British-Turkish boundary commission and the boundary commission and the boundary pillars.

article 7. Amir undertakes to maintain order within his territory.

article 8. Stipend clause.

article 9. Amir will maintain an armed force of 50 or less, 100 Dollars will be paid as long as this force is maintained in a state of efficiency.

article 10. -article 6 of Specimen B.

Hadhramaut MM2

Fadhli

648 Protectorate treaty, specimen A, concluded 4 August 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890).

Haushabi

The Sultan had been forced, by the Abdalis, to flee during disturbances. After being allowed to return he signed an agreement with the Sultan of Lahej on 6 August 1895 in which he acknowledged the suzerainity of the latter.

Protectorate Treaty of 6 August 1895 (ratified 20 October 1895; consented to by Sultan of Lahej), specimen A. Supplemented by agreement of 24 September 1914 (renewed 11 February 1920). Similar to specimen B with special clauses.

Qutaibi

Agreement of 1915 similar to agreement with Haushabi of 1914, not ratified.

Subaihi

Treaty of 5 May 1881, placing Subaihi under Abdali control,

> Article 2. "No treaty or agreement of any kind is to be entered into with any other State for the sale, mortgage, lease or hire or gift of any portion of the territory now or hereafter subject to the authority of the Sultan of the Abdali without the consent of the British Government."

The general control of the Sultan of Lahej over Subaihi was reiterated by a treaty of 27 February 1919.

Yafii, Lower

Protectorate Treaty of 1 August 1895 (ratified 28 October 1895), specimen A.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJI Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MN2

648 Upper Yafii Confederacy

Dhubi Agreement of 11 May 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903), Specimen B.

Hadhrami Section Treaty of 26 September 1903 (ratified 31 December 1903), specimen B.

Maflahi (Muflahai) Treaty of 27 August 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903), specimen B.

Mgusatta Treaty of 3 July 1903 (ratified 26 October 1903). specimen B (I).

Sultan Kathan-Bin-Omer Har-Hara of Yafai-as-Sufal Treaty of 21 October 1903 (ratified 31 December 1903), specimen B.

Shaibi Tribe of Yafai-as-Sufal Treaty of 5 December 1903 (ratified 5 February 1904), specimen B.

2. Eastern Aden Protectorate.

Balihaf

Protectorate Treaty of 30 April 1883 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Renegotiated on occasion of increase of stipend 15 March 1895 (ratified 10 June 1895), specimen A.

Bir Ali

Protectorate Treaty of 28 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Additional treaty 1 June 1896 (ratified 29 July 1896). specimen A.

Haura Lower

Protectorate Treaty of 28 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). Revised on occasion of increase of stipend on 7 April 1902 (ratified 13 June 1902). Specimen A.

18: U. S. Dept. of State G-4 (no date) ca. 1946 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MM2

6418 Irka

Protectorate Treaty of 27 April 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). On occasion of increase of stipend new treaty was concluded on 7 January 1902 (ratified 27 March 1902). specimen A.

Kathiri

Agreement between the Kathiri and Qu'ayti Sultans of 1918 (27 Shaaban 1336) recognized that Hadramaut should be "one province being an appanage of the British Empire." In February 1939 Kathiri Sultan became direct treaty chief concluding an agreement very similar to that concluded by Mukalla in 1937. In the same month the old Kathiri-Qu'ayti agreement was reconstituted.

Mukalla

Protectorate treaty 1 May 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I). New treaty concluded 13 August 1937 along lines of treaties with Malayan rulers. The British Government agreed to furnish adviser whose advice Sultan will take except in matters concerning Moslem religion and custom. The treaty also regulates the succession in the state of Mukalla.

Qishn

Protectorate treaty with Mahri tribe of 2 May 1888 (ratified 26 February 1890), specimen A (I).

Socotra

Protectorate Treaty of 23 April 1886 (ratified 23 June 1886), specimen A (I). A promise not to cede any territory is contained in an agreement of 23 January 1876 (ratified 1 March 1876).

Hadhramaut MM21

Liaison

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was 647 filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered 658 by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships 648 for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq.

HEALTH

Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the 743 Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction 759 in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery 164 are very prevalent.

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in under- 731 mining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area.

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer 743 Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date.

Famine Relief

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. 735 At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqra dam, the major 312 famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances 006

5;Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM) Aden

Hadhramaut MM21

8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), 133
with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral
belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the
other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys
are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and
mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert
and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and
cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably 361
Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun,
the capital of the Kathiri State.

Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting 631
of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of
Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates
of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been 648
for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government.
His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., 643
Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden
Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best
organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates
and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area
in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of
Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the
island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui.
The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it 175
came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel
Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri
Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. 438
The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 161
100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is 133
mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital 361
is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a 648
small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers
under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political
staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local
rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government
does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be 619
recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete 622
control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

&Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

ADEN PROTECTORATE

PART IV

Chapter 1: General Review

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THERE was a general improvement in security and in political matters during the year, but the economic situation remained at a low ebb owing especially to a poor rainfall in most areas. 000

It was found necessary to occupy Shaibi territory by force in order to put an end to the extremely oppressive rule of the Saqladi Sheikh. The Sheikh fled to the Yemen and the new administration introduced by Government was welcomed by all sections of the population. The area which is at a high attitude should prosper. 721 622

The Abyan Development Scheme in Fadhli and Lower Yafai territories made good progress, but relations between Government and the Lower Yafai Sultan continued to be unsatisfactory. 631

The administration of Subeihi territory was transferred for an experimental period to the Abdali Sultan.

Slow progress was made in the new Dhala (Amiri) administration, but a second season of drought hampered progress. Advances of grain to the value of some £15,000 were made to farmers in the area to prevent a complete economic collapse. [654]

Revenues in the Fadhli and Dathina areas fell as a result of poor harvests.

The Beihan administration made good progress but received a setback towards the end of the year owing to the failure of the autumn harvest and later to frost damage on the well irrigated wheat and barley crops.

There were no trade route incidents during the year.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute was settled by the arbitration of the Resident Adviser, which both Sultans had agreed to accept as finally binding. When the time came to execute his decisions, the Qu'aiti Sultan showed considerable reluctance to surrender Sah and the Kathiri to surrender forts round Tarim. 648

Local political parties tended to lose their sting during the year. The Qu'aiti National Party became seriously involved in the question of the surrender of Sah (see above) and also supported, through its representatives within Mukalla Government, the claims of the Tamimi tribe to watch date palms. 665

Heavy raiding by Saudi tribes in the spring led to a meeting between 721
648

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMl Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

721 648 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring.

[648] Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MMI Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

131 tanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khail (or Empty Quarter) and the kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the status quo as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadhramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

133 The Western Aden Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000–2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

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6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

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has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative 625
machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards 624
(paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal 631
districts: 361

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej. [643]

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

912 *Northern Area.* In 1950 the desert posts were completed at Minwakh, Zimakh and Al Hajr, thus linking up the northern fort system with Al Abr and Asakir, and controlling all the important water points in the area. Since the establishment of these forts there has been no raiding at all in this area, or by tribes of this area upon other tribes.

631 *Eastern Areas.* After the settlement with the Menahil in 1948 this area remained quiet, and the Mukalla Regular Army fort at Som is now accepted by the tribes of the area. Recently the Naib of Shibam met the Muqaddam of the Menahil at Elinat. This went far to heal the breach between them and Government dating from 1947 when the tribe rose and attacked Government posts.

648 *Mahra—Socotra.* The Resident Adviser paid two visits to Socotra during 1949-50, one by sea and the other by air. Among subjects discussed with the Sultan were reports of famine conditions on the Island. The Resident Adviser strongly urged the Sultan to spend more time on the mainland, and agreed to arrange a meeting later in 1951 between the Qu'aiti and the Mahra to settle a frontier dispute at Museina. The Fisheries Officer visited the Mahra coast to study fishing conditions there.

General

731 As a result of the famine in 1949, there has been a notable decrease in the numbers of camels and goats, and as a result of delayed rains in Socotra the people there have suffered a similar loss. However, 1950 was a good year for the beduin, and more young camels are to be seen load-carrying now.

691 One of the chief complaints by the Bedu has been the delay caused by magistrates when judging Bedu cases. This matter has been investigated and is being put right.

664
617 Very recently a number of chiefs from the western tribes held a meeting and put in a joint petition to Government. The three points of the petition were (*a*) a complaint against the arms-carrying ban in Wadi Du'an ; (*b*) a complaint against truck owners carrying loads which are forbidden by Government's agreement with the Bedu ; and (*c*) a request for some of their old customs to be recognised. But so firmly is the peace now established that troublesome elements who attempted to support these demands by force were overruled by the majority. The Government is taking suitable action in this matter.

648 On 25th August, 1949, Colonel J. E. H. Boustead, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., assumed the appointment of British Agent, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and Resident Adviser to the Hadhramaut States and to the Wahidi State of Balhaf.

000 A table of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes is given on p. 6.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

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Chapter 12 : Administration

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Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

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The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

622 648 625 The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

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WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

[643] ABDALI : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the western area. *Capital:* Lahej.

AMIRI : Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital:* Dhala.

FADHLI : Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital:* Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital:* Al Qara.

HAUSHABI : Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital:* Museimir.

UPPER YAFA'I CONFEDERATION : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih, *Capital:* Mahjaba.

MAUSATTA : Sheikh Ahmed Bubaker Ali Askar and Sheikh Husein Salih Musin Askar. *Capital:* Al Qudma.

DHUBI : Sheikh Abdulrahman bin Salih (under age). Regent : Sheikh Salih Salim. *Capital:* Dhi Sura.

MAFLAHI : Shiekh Qasim Abdulrahman. *Capital:* Al Jurba.

HADRAMI : Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin Ghalib. *Capital:* Ash Shibr.

SHAIB : Sheikh Ahmed Mana As Saqladi. *Capital:* Awabil.

QUTEIBI : Sheik Hassan Ali. *Capital:* Al. Thumeir.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

ADEN PROTECTORATE

PART IV

Chapter 1: General Review

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

642 THE years 1951 and 1952 were marked by (a) Government penetration
648 into the Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdom (Maan) at the invitation of the
Ruler and the subsequent formation of the United Administration of
Maan and Khalifa; (b) the conclusion of two Advisory Treaties with
the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and Audhali Sultan (May and July, 1952)
647 and a joint Advisory and Protectorate Treaty with His Highness the
Sultan of Lahej; (c) the formation of the Fadhli—Lower Yafa'
Health Board; and (d) the formation of the Lower Aulaqi Regency
Council in Ahwar (August, 1952).

Politically the period under review was one of consolidation and development of the administrations of the various States in the Protectorate.

438 The Abyan Board did well in 1951 when it sold 9,890 bales of cotton for £867,088. In 1952 the rains were not so plentiful with the result that only 6,300 bales were sold for £725,810.

648 Relations with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Yemen remained difficult in spite of the Modus Vivendi Agreement concluded with it in London in January, 1951. Interference in affairs well inside the Protectorate boundary was a cause of friction.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

622 In the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States the main constitutional advance has been in the setting up of town and village councils to deal with local affairs.

659 Of necessity both Administrations have been preoccupied with
measures to combat the threat of food shortage which must always be
654 faced in this region of uncertain rainfall. The States and local author-
653 ities have maintained dumps of grain, which are designed to tide over
a period of scarcity before imports can arrive from the coast, and a
245 periodical check is made on resources of motor transport to ensure
that distribution of supplies is not held up by failure of camel traffic
in an emergency. Positive measures have been taken to increase local
food supplies. Funds have been allocated for loans to farmers to
purchase pumps to increase areas of cultivation. Schemes for the
rebuilding of dams and for flood control have been put into effect.
Particular attention has been paid to the rehabilitation of date palms.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

Chapter 7 : Social Services

EDUCATION

General

The Aden Protectorate is divided administratively into two parts, 631
Eastern and Western, with a British Agent for each at Mukalla and Aden respectively. Education, which is under the immediate general 871
guidance of the British Agents, has thus two distinct divisions. The Aden Colony Department of Education gives advice and assistance and co-ordinates, so far as is possible, educational development throughout the whole territory. A full-time European Education Officer is responsible for this, working under the Director of Education and in consultation with the British Agents. His activities have for some years been devoted mainly to the more backward Western Protectorate.

The general policy is to build up self-supporting State departments of education, which may control a system of full primary schools of equal standard to those in the Colony. Post-primary education is more directly a concern of Government and the aim is to establish intermediate schools at suitable points in the Protectorate. It is intended that these schools should in most cases serve more than one State and that the States should contribute to their upkeep. Full secondary education is not at present envisaged for the Protectorate, but the intermediate schools will prepare boys for entry to Aden College and the Technical College in the Colony.

Government co-ordinates the courses and syllabus of these schools but, although this has been effected for most of the primary schools, a certain amount of diversity still exists in the intermediate schools. The ages for entry and leaving are in the theory the same as for Colony schools but there is no registration of births and ages are known only approximately.

Expenditure on Education

The Colony Government does not make any contribution towards 652
education in the Protectorate ; all expenditure over and above what [418]
the States can afford is borne by Her Majesty's Government.

Expenditure on education for the year 1951–52 was in the region of £51,000, divided between the Eastern and Western Protectorate thus :

	West	*East*	*Total*
	£	£	£
Expenditure by States . . .	6,781	25,188	31,969
Expenditure by Her Majesty's Government	5,432	4,767	10,199
Expenditure from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds . .	1,094	7,122	8,216
	£13,307	£37,077	£50,384

8;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

PART VI

Chapter 1: Geography and Climate

GEOGRAPHY

131 648 The Aden Protectorate which can be more conveniently described administratively and geographically by dividing it into two areas, the Western and Eastern, has a total superficial area of about 112,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, on the north and west by the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) and the Kingdom of the Yemen (whose southern boundary was temporarily established by Article III of the Treaty of Sana'a of 11th February, 1934, by which His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Yemen agreed to maintain the *status quo* as on the date of the signature of the treaty), and on the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The Aden Protectorate seaboard starts at Husn Murad (opposite Perim) on the west, and runs for 740 miles eastwards to Ras Dhurbat Ali, where it meets the frontier of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

133 The Western Protectorate is divided into the littoral belt which varies between four and 40 miles in depth; the maritime ranges about 1,000—2,000 feet above sea-level; the intramontane plains over 3,000 feet high; and the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter) with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt and the intramontane plains and the plateau is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

361 The greater part of the Eastern Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Sai'un, the capital of the Kathiri State.

CLIMATE

132 The maritime plains are damp and hot in the summer, and are subject to sandstorms and high winds. In the winter (October to the end of March) it is cool and sometimes cold at night and much less damp.

In the mountains, which vary in height between 1,500 and 8,000 feet, it is drier and cooler during the day and night; at above 4,500 feet it can be very cold.

In the Wadi Hadramaut and the intervening tableland or "Jol", extremes of both heat and cold are encountered. The heat, in contrast to that of the coast, is dry, but more intense. The rainfall is small.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3(1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

132 312 There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

Chapter 2: History

175 For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence.

648 After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914.

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

640 648 The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protectorate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

648 *The island of Socotra was occupied by the East India Company in* 1834 and came under British protection together with the neighbouring Abd Alkuri and Brothers Islands when the treaty with the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra was concluded in 1866.

Chapter 3 : Administration

631 The Eastern Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the
648 Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Sai'un),
643 the Mahra Sultanate of the Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Belhaf and Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. A British Agent is stationed at Mukalla who advises the Rulers of the Eastern Protectorate on matters of administration.

The interests of the Western Protectorate are looked after similarly by a small cadre of British Political Officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since Her Majesty's
619 Government does not administer the Protectorate directly. The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by
622 the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over
701 their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been
625 greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards mainly (paid for by Her Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland at fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

631
361 The Protectorate consists of the following states :

WESTERN PROTECTORATE

[643] **'ABDALI** : His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin 'Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej until April, 1952, and thereafter His Highness Sultan 'Ali bin 'Abdul Karim, the premier chief of the Western Protectorate. Capital : Lahej.
'AMIRI : Amir Nasir bin Shaif, C.M.G. Capital : Dhala.
FADHLI : Sultan 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman. Capital : Shuqra.
LOWER YAFA'I : Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. Capital : Al Qara.
HAUSHABI : Sultan Muhammad bin Sarur. Capital : Museimir.
UPPER YAFA'I : Sultan Muhammad bin Salih. Capital : Mahjaba.

622 619 leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a figurehead.

619 • 648 The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually-accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

Recent History and Present Politics

175 648 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2
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648

Hodeidah and obtained possession of the Tihāmah; and during the succeeding years the Turks gradually extended their conquests inland from the coast, until, in 1873, they had reached the limits of the tribes under British influence. Thenceforward, aided by intrigue on the part of disaffected tribes or tribal sections, and taking advantage of intertribal feuds, they began to make encroachments, often temporarily successful, on Aden territory, particularly on that occupied by the ʻAbdāli, Haushabi, and Amīri confederations. In 1873 occurred the Turkish occupation of Dhāla, the stronghold of the Amīri, which was continued in a greater or less degree until 1903; and in the earlier year the Turks even occupied for a time the fortified house of the ʻAbdāli Sultan at Lahej. Though Turkish aggression subsequently made itself felt to some extent all along the Aden–Yemen frontier, it has always been particularly active in the Amīri and Haushabi country. In 1900 trouble occurred between the Turkish tribe of Humar and the Haushabi. The representative of Turkish authority, Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, an Arab of Humar origin, came to an understanding with the ʻAbdāli Sultan and erected a tower at Kafūf, about two miles north-west of Darajah, well within Haushabi limits, from which he and his Humar following were able to cause considerable annoyance to the Haushabi. Representations to the Turkish authority having failed to obtain more than promises of evacuation, a British force was dispatched to help the Haushabi in ejecting them. In the meanwhile Nāsir, by representing to the Turkish authorities at Taʻizz that the British force intended to commit wanton aggression on Turkish territory, induced them to dispatch a force of 400 men, who proceeded to Kafūf and occupied the tower. The Humar, who held the heights of Darajah, were, however, put to flight and the Turks evacuated the place.

As a consequence of this incident, the Porte, which had previously rejected offers of demarcation of the frontier, itself proposed it. The offer was accepted and British and Turkish Commissioners met at Dhāla in January 1902. Negotiations proceeded slowly owing to obstruction by the Turks and to the fact that they persisted in occupying Jalīlah within the Aden border. Eventually it was found necessary to exert pressure. A strong British supporting column was dispatched to Dhāla, and, after some time, the Turks withdrew to Qaʻtabah and the work of delimitation proceeded. It was completed in May 1904, and since that date until the present war our relations with the Turks in this region have not been unfriendly.

On the outbreak of war with Turkey, on October 31st, 1914, reports indicated that the Turks were in some strength in the Sheikh

30: Gt. Britain G-3 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

175 Sa'īd Peninsula and that they were preparing to dispatch troops to act against the Aden Protectorate. Consequently early in November
•648 three Indian infantry battalions, then on the voyage to Suez, were ordered to capture Sheikh Sa'īd and destroy the Turkish works, armaments, and wells at that place. On November 10th the transports conveying the force arrived off the coast of the Sheikh Sa'īd Peninsula; but adverse weather conditions prevented a landing at the point first selected. Covered by the fire of naval guns, a landing was effected elsewhere, all opposition encountered was overcome, and the enemy was driven inland, abandoning his field guns. On November 11th Turbah Fort and other Turkish works in the neighbourhood were destroyed by the troops with the assistance of a naval demolition party.

For some time after these operations the Turks showed no signs of advancing with a view to attacking Aden; but their presence on the northern boundary of the Protectorate rendered it desirable to strengthen the garrison at Aden. Sheikh Sa'īd was again occupied by them, and on the night of June 14th–15th, 1915, they endeavoured to effect a landing on the north coast of Perim; but this attack was successfully driven off by the garrison of the island. During the latter half of that month reports indicated a possible Turkish advance on Lahej from Māwiyah. On definite information being received that such an advance was about to be made, the Aden movable column was ordered to move out to Sheikh 'Othmān on the evening of July 3rd. Early the following morning the advance was continued to Lahej, to which place the Aden troops had previously been dispatched. The intense heat, sand, and shortage of water rendered the march and the subsequent operations most trying, but, in spite of these hindrances, the advance guard reached their objective and engaged the Turks just beyond Lahej on the evening of July 4th. But the desertion of the hired camels and the severe climatic conditions so delayed and distressed the main body as to necessitate, on July 5th, a withdrawal from Lahej to Khōr Maksar. After the withdrawal the Turks occupied Sheikh 'Othmān, and it was decided to increase temporarily the Aden garrison.

On July 20th, after reinforcements had been received, the Aden troops with two batteries of artillery moved out of the town to attack the enemy next morning. The Turks, completely surprised, were expelled from Sheikh 'Othmān with considerable loss, and several hundred prisoners, mostly Arabs, were taken. In August a small column engaged the garrison of the Turkish post of Fiyūsh, eight miles north of Sheikh 'Othmān, and forced the enemy to retire on Lahej; and a few days later another successful reconnaissance

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MM2

was made towards Waht. On the receipt of reports in September 175 that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahej, a column surprised the enemy, estimated at 700 Turks with eight guns and 648 1,000 Arabs, and seized and occupied Waht. In October and again in December our cavalry had small affairs with hostile reconnoitring parties, in which the latter were driven off with loss; and in December friendly Arabs, supported by a small infantry detachment, drove off a hostile Turkish and Arab force which was advancing on 'Imād.

Owing to the Turks dispatching troops to coerce the tribes in the east of the Aden Protectorate, a demonstration in support of these tribes was made by the Aden movable column on January 12th, 1916, in the direction of Subar. The column located a Turkish force near Subar, about 4 m. SSE. of Lahej, and engaged it, inflicting considerable losses on it. As a result of this action the Turkish pressure on the Arab tribes is reported to have been relieved. Since then there has been little change.

The strength of the principal tribal units and the political attitude of their rulers are described in the sections on the Tribal Confederations (pp. 206 ff.).

DISTRICTS AND TOWNS

I. Aden Settlement

The Settlement of Aden comprises the following divisions: (1) the 361 peninsula and isthmus, or Aden proper, which has an area of about 21 square miles and a population, in 1915, of 36,900; (2) Sheikh 'Othmān and the district round, inclusive of the villages of 'Imād and Hiswah, which has an area of 39 square miles and a population of 7,700; (3) Little Aden peninsula, with 15 square miles of area and population 330; and (4) the island of Perim, with 5 square miles of area and population 1,300. The total area of the Settlement is therefore about 80 square miles, with a total population of just over 46,000 souls.

The British territory was at first limited to the peninsula of Aden proper, and extended only to Khōr Maksar creek, which forms the neck of the peninsula two miles north of the defensive works across the isthmus. In 1868 the peninsula of Little Aden, or Jebel Ihsan, was acquired by purchase from the Sultan of the 'Aqrabi. In 1882, owing to the increasing population of Aden town, a further small tract of territory was acquired by purchase, from the Sultan of Lahej, beyond the Khōr Maksar creek, extending to just beyond the small village of 'Imād on the north and just beyond the town

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia

Hadhramaut MM2

Distances are reckoned by Khatwah (an hour's march, on the 804
level, over ordinary ground, of about 3½ miles) and by Marhālah
(a day's march of from 8 to 9 hours).

The measures of capacity are :

Shatr = ± ½ litre.
Musra or Mudd = 2 Shatr.
Rabā'i = 1½ Mudd (*plu.* Musra).
Sā' = 4 Rabā'i.
Qahāwil = 2 Sā'.

The Qahāwil is not in use at Makalla and Shiheir, where another measure, the Mikyāl = 8 Qurs or Musra (Mudd).

Government

The government of the Hadhramaut is in the hands of a number of 631
tribal chiefs. The most powerful clan or tribe, at present, is the *Ka'aiti* 622
(estimated pop. 50,000), a branch of the Yāfa' tribe, whose territory
lies farther west. Originally invited by the Seyyids to protect the 619
settled districts from the attacks of marauding tribes, they have established themselves as practically the rulers of the country, and now control the coast district with the ports of Shiheir and Makalla, as well as the towns Hajarein, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibām in the interior. The founder of this family accumulated great wealth and rose to the highest position in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, as 'Jemadar', or commander of an Arab levy composed of his tribesmen, numbers of whom still go to the East and elsewhere to seek their fortune. His descendant took the title of Sultan of the Ka'aiti in 1902. The *Kathiri* tribe was formerly the most powerful ; they now occupy the greater part of the Central Hadhramaut, Seyyūn, Terīm, and Ghurfah being their chief strongholds. These two tribes are extremely hostile to each other. The paramount chiefs of both have been in political relations with the British Government, through the Resident at Aden, but the Kathīri have less intercourse with us than the Ka'aiti and, of late, have broken off relations.

The Hadhramaut tribal chiefs nominally also recognize the 648
supremacy of the Sublime Porte and profess to be its protégés, but no part of the country has ever been really incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, nor has the Porte ever imposed taxes, sent troops or officials, or exercised any form of sovereignty. In so doing it would doubtless meet with the most obstinate resistance ; on the other hand, the Turks have never sought the aid of the Hadhramaut chiefs, though the Imam of Yemen has made overtures to them latterly.

63.Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1961) 1954
M1 Middle East

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

10

Aden Colony and Protectorate

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

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448●

Aden Colony and the tribal states comprising the Aden Protectorate have a long and varied history, but they have been under the influence of Great Britain for over a century. The Colony of Aden consists of two small peninsulas, located about 100 miles east of the straits of Bab el Mandeb, the short strip of connecting mainland, Perim Island at the entrance to the Red Sea, and the small offshore islands of Kuria Muria to the east. It became a British dependency in 1839, but remained under the jurisdiction of India until constituted a Crown Colony in 1937. Exclusive of the islands, the Colony has an area of about 75 square miles, 21 square miles of which comprise the peninsula of Aden proper. The historic settlement is located on a rocky promontory, 5 to 6 miles in width and 2 to 4 miles in length, which is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. It is an

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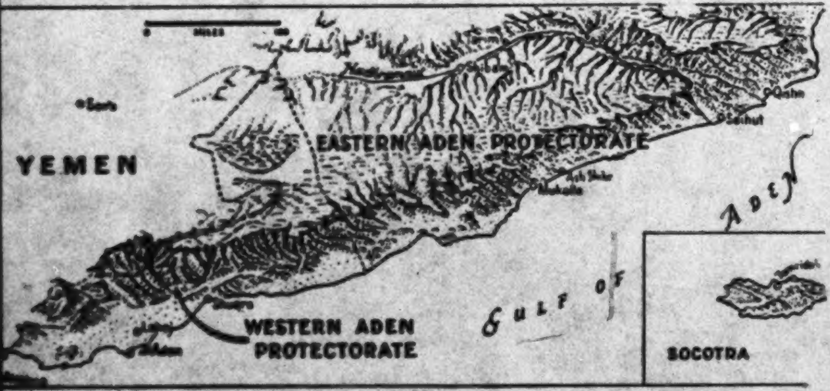

p. 235(A)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

A 183 extinct volcano with a broad crater which is surrounded on three sides by peaks rising to over 1,800 feet, while the fourth side slopes gradually to the sea. Kamaran Island, important as an international quarantine station until 1951, is administered independently under the Colony.

H 131 The Aden Protectorate has an approximate area of 112,000 square miles, with a coastline of about 740 miles, extending from Ras Murad, at the entrance to the Red Sea, to Ras Dhurbat 'Ali, which marks the frontier with Muscat and Oman. It is bounded on the northwest by the Kingdom of the Yemen, on the east by the Dhufar country under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Muscat, on the north by the desert of Rub' al Khali, the so-called "Empty Quarter" of Arabia, and on the south by the Gulf of Aden. H 642 648 The Protectorate is a composite of independent sultanates and tribal confederations, the rulers and the chiefs of which

p. 235(B)

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

N 442 648 [635] are bound by protective treaties with Great Britain. Administratively, it is divided into two areas, the Western Aden Protectorate, covering roughly 45,000 square miles in the southwestern highlands, and the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which incorporates the remaining territory and the island of Socotra, about 150 miles from Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point in Africa.

N 133 The geography of the region is characterized by mountains and high plateaus which slope to a sandy plain along the coast and are intersected by deep and often fertile valleys. The topography of Western Aden Protectorate is particularly rugged. Four zones are differentiated: the littoral; the coastal hills reaching up to 2,000 feet in height; the inland plains, with slightly higher elevations; and the interior plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The dominant feature of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is the Wadi Hadhramaut. The valley, which is broad and well defined, parallels the coast for almost 200 miles before turning southeast toward the sea. It is hemmed in by massive plateaus, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet in the south and 3,500 feet in the north, which are terraced and dissected by numerous secondary wadies. The main valley lies over 100 miles inland, and is separated from the coast by a complex terrain of mountains, steppe and desert.

N 132 Few meteorologic observations have been recorded. Extreme heat, accompanied by high humidity, is encountered in the coastal region during the summer; slightly moderated temperatures at the time of the northeast monsoon, from October to April. A 132 The mean temperature in the Colony is estimated at 80° F.; 75° F. in the winter and 90° F. in the summer. The daily range is slight in the summer, but cool and sometimes cold nights are experienced during the winter months. The temperatures in the interior vary with the altitude and the season. Marked contrasts exist between the heat of the shut-in wadies and the cooler temperatures of the high plateaus. The rainfall is

ADEN MM1
HADHRAMAUT MM2

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions
of the skin are often encountered among the A
peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of H 146
518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 164
1949, no cases of overt deficiency were
found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly
suggestive of low protein intake, was
revealed in 27 per cent.

Miscellaneous Conditions

A
A small outbreak of epidemic muscular 164
rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease,
was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved
35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab. H

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent A
conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. 164
Local physicians have noted that most of 733
the cases come from malarious regions 146
where qat is widely used, but the underlying
causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

SUMMARY

A
The Colony of Aden and the adjacent H
Protectorate, on the southern coast of 648
Arabia, have been British dependencies for
over a century. The population of the Colony, A
including the port of Aden, was enumerated 161
at 80,516 in the census of 1946,
and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The H
Protectorate territory comprises two administrative 131
divisions—Western Aden Protectorate 161
and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in
which the estimated population for 1948
was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. H
The local governments are tribal and 619
diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates
to smaller autonomous units. The H
inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate A 563
are predominantly Arabs and adherents 795
of Islam.

p. 251 (B)